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OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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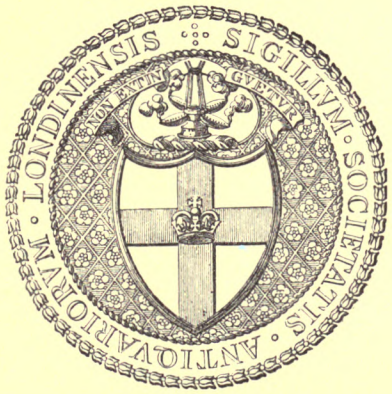

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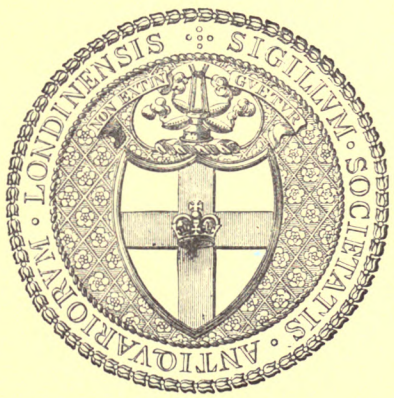

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I.—*Recent Researches in Barrows in Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, etc.* By the *Rev.* William Greenwell, *M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read January 17, 1889, and January 23, 1890.

Subsequent to the publication of *British Barrows* in 1877, which recorded the opening of two hundred and thirty-four sepulchral mounds, situated in six counties, all, with the exception of Gloucestershire, in the north of England, I have examined sixty-one in addition. I propose in the following account to give the precise details of the exploration of these barrows, in order that the facts then observed may be put on record, and made available for the use of those interested in this important branch of our native archæology.

To this account I have appended a description of a cairn in Northumberland, of which, before its destruction, I had an opportunity of examining a part, the rest having been removed in quarrying stone, antecedent to my visit. I have also thought it desirable to place on record the facts I have been able to recover, connected with a remarkable burial in Gloucestershire, with which were associated some very fine weapons of stone and bronze, which have come into my possession.

The examination of this large number of places of sepulture has not resulted in the discovery of many novel features, but it has thrown some additional and important light upon the state of cultivation and the social condition of the early inhabitants of Britain. Much that was new was perhaps not to be expected, when the very great number of barrows previously explored, by myself and others, and the large series of various objects contained in them, is taken into consideration. Still these further examinations have not been barren or profitless, inasmuch as, in addition to one most remarkable and novel discovery, conclusions before arrived at have been strengthened or shown to be erroneous, observed facts not very

numerous have been multiplied, and the knowledge gained by the work of former years has been increased and added to.

Before 1878 I had not had an opportunity of opening any barrows in the south of England, but the present account will be found to include eighteen in the counties of Berks and Wilts. These constitute a number sufficiently large to enable us to apprehend the characteristic features of the sepulchral mounds of that district, and they have afforded a large amount of instructive details, which may be considered typical of the burial customs of what, in prehistoric times, was, without doubt, the most highly advanced and richest part of Britain.

I propose to describe the barrows in the same geographical order I followed in *British Barrows*, commencing with those on the wolds of the East Riding of Yorkshire and ending with those in Wiltshire and Berkshire. The numbers attached to the barrows will follow on in succession to the last number, CCXXXIV, in the same book.

YORKSHIRE.

The north-east corner of the range of upland constituting the wolds of the East Riding of Yorkshire is, to a large extent, comprised within the parishes of Willerby, Folkton, and Hunmanby, the furthest to the west being Willerby, where in the years 1866-68, I opened a number of barrows described in *British Barrows*, pp. 180 *et seq.* It contains many burial mounds of various sizes, the examination of some of which I have undertaken in conjunction with Mr. Walter K. Foster, F.S.A. and Mr. Thomas Boynton of Bridlington Quay.

Parish of Willerby, East Riding.

CCXXXV. In the parish of Willerby, on the Wold Farm, situated about three quarters of a mile to the west of the barrows described in *British Barrows* as Nos. XXXVIII and CCXXII, are two others lying not far apart. The first is 45 feet in diameter, 2 feet high, and made of earth, flint stones, and chalk. Within the circumference of the mound was a circular trench excavated beneath the natural surface for a depth varying from 12 inches to 18 inches, and being from 14 inches to 18 inches in width. It surrounded the central part of the mound with a diameter of 20 feet. The first discovery was of four bronze axes,

which were found 8 feet east of the centre placed close together on their edges 6 inches above the original surface. There were no signs of the barrow having ever being disturbed at the place, and they appeared to have been deposited where they were found at the time of the erection of the mound. They are flat, without flanges, and belong to the earlier part of the bronze period, and are similar to those which alone have hitherto been met with in connection with a burial. They are very infrequent accompaniments of an interment, and I have only once before found one, in a barrow at Butterwick (*British Barrows*, No. XXXIX), not very far from Willerby. Three of them are ornamented, one more elaborately than the other two, and they still retain upon their surface a polish like glass. They measure $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length respectively, and 4 inches, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and $2\frac{2}{8}$ inches in width at the cutting edge.

The widest axe is quite plain, and has no ridge across the blade a little above the middle as all the others have; it shows signs of having been hammered over the whole surface, and like the remaining three has had the edge of the sides hammered, forming very rudimentary flanges. The longest has a pattern of slightly made punch markings over the whole of both faces, except at the cutting edge, giving it somewhat of the appearance of grained Morocco leather; the pattern at the smaller end is much worn down, due perhaps to its not having been firmly fixed in the handle. One of the others has a similar pattern, but only upon one face. The fourth (fig. 1), is very like one engraved in Evans' *Ancient Bronze Implements*, fig. 5, found at Weymouth.

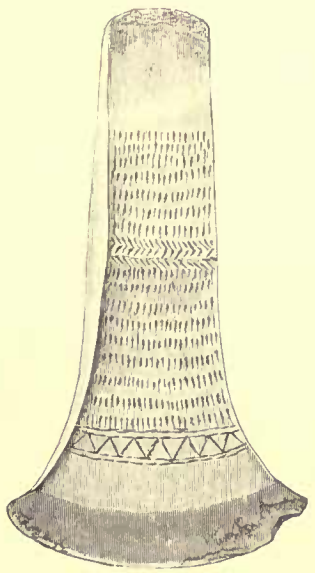


Fig. 1.—Bronze Axe from Willerby, Yorks. $\frac{1}{2}$

At the centre of the mound, for a space of above 12 feet in diameter, the original surface had been much burnt, a large fire having evidently been alight there for a long time. Through this a grave had been sunk to a depth of 8 feet into the chalk rock, having a diameter of 8 feet 10 inches at the top, and narrowing at $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot above the bottom to 4 feet. After this grave had been filled in over the bodies deposited in it, a secondary one had been cut into it to a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with a diameter of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Within this a fire had been made and kept burning sufficiently long for the bottom and sides to have become completely reddened for a depth of three or four inches.

It has already been stated that the original grave was sunk through a burnt surface; this burning must have taken place before the grave was made, for there were no signs of fire upon the surface of the filling in of the grave. Within the limits of the secondary grave, towards the north side, and 1½ foot above the bottom was the body of an adult, laid on the left side, with the head pointing to the north, the hands being in front of the face.[a] Just beyond the hands was a "drinking-cup," and beyond it a round flint scraper, while behind the head were a small round scraper and the half of another. The "drinking-cup" is 4½ inches high, 4¾ inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches wide at the bottom. In form it is like fig. 85 in *British Barrows*, and is ornamented for a depth of one inch on the inside of the lip with parallel diagonal lines, and on the whole of the outside of the vessel with encircling lines about a quarter of an inch apart, rather carelessly applied, all the lines being formed by impressions of twisted thong. Beneath this burial at the centre, on the burnt bottom of this secondary grave, was the body of an adult laid on the left side, with the head to N.N.E. the hands being in front of the face, just touching which was a curved flint knife 2¼ inches long and 1⅛ inch wide, well flaked along the curved edge. The secondary grave was filled with earth, clay, and flints, but the space of 1½ foot between the two bodies just noticed was composed of clay. The original grave, to a depth of 5½ feet, was filled with large flints, having some charcoal and burnt soil among them; below that it changed to soft earth, which contained much charcoal and burnt soil with a few flints. On the bottom of the grave, at its centre, were two bodies laid in opposite directions, partly overlying each other. The skulls were 2½ feet apart. The one body, that of a man, was laid on the left side with the head to E.N.E., the other, of an adult of uncertain sex, on the right side with the head to W.S.W. The position of the arms was difficult to make out, but in each case the hands appeared to have been up to the face.

CCXXXVI. About 200 yards south of the last was another barrow, 72 feet in diameter, which had been almost entirely removed. A shallow grave at the centre had not, however, been disturbed. It was oval in shape, lying N.W. by S.E., 6 feet long and 3 feet wide, and sunk beneath the original surface into the chalk rock to a depth of 1½ foot. It had been lined throughout with wood, but the

[a] It must be understood that in this case as in all others to be described the body had been laid on the side in a contracted position, the knees being drawn up towards the face. Also when the body is spoken of as with the head pointing to some point of the compass, the direction is taken along the line of the back, so that if the head is said to point, or to be, to the west, the face is looking toward the north or south according to the side on which the body is laid.

body had not been covered by it. This, of a strongly-made man, was laid on the right side with the head, which was 1½ foot from the north-west end, to N.W., the hands being crossed in front of the stomach. Close to, but not within the limits of, the grave, and on the original surface, was a thick flake from a flint nodule, 2¾ inches long and 1¼ inch wide, dressed by flaking at one end into a rough adze-like form.

Parish of Folkton.

Upon Folkton Wold is a group of eight barrows, of which five are placed in close proximity to each other; of the remaining three, two are within half a mile to the south, and the third about the same distance to the north-east.

CCXXXVII. The principal mound of the group, Sharp Howe, has originally been a barrow of more than ordinary size and height, and possesses some remarkable features in its construction. It has a diameter of 80 feet, and is still 8 feet high, with a flat top; but when first thrown up it must have been of a conical form, and 6 feet higher than it is at present, the top part having been removed many years ago, but within living memory. It consists of a cairn made of large blocks of chalk, 37 feet in diameter, which is placed on a platform of chalk stones, 3 feet wide and 1 foot 8 inches high. This platform is faced with a very regularly constructed wall of thin slabs of chalk. The chalk of which the cairn is composed must, from its nature, have been quarried from some depth in the rock, but there was no hollow apparent from which it might have been taken. Over the cairn was a layer of earth intermixed with a little chalk, and above that a layer of chalk rubble, having upon it a layer of soil, 1 foot thick, forming the outside of the mound. The soil may have been the result of the decomposition of the chalk and of vegetable growth, and it is possible that the outside was originally chalk, the barrow being thus a conspicuous object as well from its size as from its colour, showing, as it would, white upon the green wold. The present top of the mound had been dug into at the middle, to a depth of 3 feet beneath the flat surface left when the conical summit was removed. In the material disturbed by this opening were found part of a human lower jaw and a clavicle, some animal bones, portions of red deer's antlers, a piece of Roman pottery, a late-Roman third-brass coin, and several fragments of medieval pottery; the remains of secondary interments, and of possibly more than one disturbance of the barrow. At the centre, beneath the cairn, was a grave, lying east and west, 7½ feet long, 5 feet wide, and 5 feet deep, filled in with large chalk slabs principally set on

edge. In it, on the bottom, at the east end, were the remains of the much-decayed bones of, apparently, a female of middle age, laid on the right side, with the head to west. The knees were drawn up towards the face, in front of which were the bones of the hands. Behind the heels was a "food-vessel" (fig. 2). It is coarsely made, with thick walls, the paste being very full of broken stone. The ornamentation, which will be best understood from the figure, appears to have been

Fig. 2. "Food-vessel" from Folkton, Yorks. $\frac{1}{2}$

made by the application of a piece of leather thong, with smaller thong wrapped round it. It is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the bottom.

Among the material of the cairn were three round scrapers of flint, and a piece of a ground and well-polished stone axe.

CCXXXVIII. The next barrow was 238 feet north-east from Sharp Howe. It is 44 feet in diameter, and, though much ploughed down, as were all the other mounds, is still $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. It was made, on the outer part, of earth, with a

few chalk and flint stones intermixed. The central part, which was 21 feet in diameter, was made of chalk and flint, with some earth, and had a circle of flint stones surrounding it. Ten feet W.S.W. from the centre, and placed one foot above the surface-level of the ground, was the body of an aged man, laid on the right side, with the head pointing to W., the left hand being on the hips, and the right in front of the knees. From the crown of the head to the outside of the pelvis the space was 3 feet. Underneath the body were some of the bones of another and disturbed body, a tibia, radius, and some vertebræ; and here and there in the barrow, on the surface-level of the ground, were human bones, the remains of a body or bodies, probably disturbed by the introduction of the old man above mentioned. Behind the head of this body was a "food-vessel," of fairly well-baked ware, ornamented with impressions of twisted cord. Inside the lip are two bands of short radiating lines, and the edge of the lip, and the two broad channels which form the neck are ornamented with horizontal bands of similar lines, but disposed vertically. The vessel is $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches wide at the bottom. At the centre was an oval grave, W.N.W. by E.S.E., $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 6 feet wide, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. It had been entirely rifled when the barrow was opened at the centre about thirty years ago. It is almost certain that it had once contained an unburnt body, for had there been a burial after cremation it is unlikely that all the burnt bones would have been removed.

CCXXXIX. This barrow was situated 200 feet N.W. from Sharp Howe. It is 48 feet in diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, and made of earth, with some chalk stones here and there. At a distance of $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet S.S.E. from the centre was an oval grave, W.S.W. by E.N.E., $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 5 feet wide at the top, but narrowing at the bottom to a length of 6 feet and a width of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and sunk through the chalk, on to a band of flint, to a depth of 3 feet 2 inches. At the middle of the bottom of the grave was the body of a man, of full age, laid on the right side with the head to W.S.W., the hands being up to the face, in front of which was a flint knife, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, made from a flake, which has been carefully chipped over the convex surface and brought to a point at one end. The back of the body was straight, and not bent forward as is usual, the knees being drawn up towards the face. Twelve and a-half feet E. by S. from the centre was a second grave, oval in shape, with a direction W.S.W. by E.N.E., 6 feet 3 inches long, and 5 feet wide, but narrowing to 4 feet at the bottom, and 2 feet 2 inches deep. It was filled in with earth and a little chalk intermixed. At the west end and laid close to the north side was the body of an adult laid on the right side, with the

head to S.W. and the hands up to the face. The back was much bent, and the femurs and tibias touched each other, the distance from the back of the head to the outside of the pelvis being $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Laid upon the hands and knees were the bones of a burnt body, which must have been placed there at the same time that the unburnt body was buried. Among the bones was a flint knife, which, as is commonly the case with such implements, had not passed through the funeral fire, and had been placed, as is also usual, with the convex face downwards. It has been made from a flake of yellowish flint, carefully chipped along the edges on the convex face, and is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, both ends being rounded. Eight feet S.W. from the centre was a third grave, oval in form, W.N.W. by E.S.E., $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 5 feet wide, and 2 feet 9 inches deep. On the bottom, which was dished, was a body, the back and shoulders of which were placed on the sloping side of the grave, the head being on the bottom. It was laid on the right side, with the head to W.N.W., the hands, the fingers of which were doubled in, being between the face and knees. From the back of the head to the outside of the pelvis it measured 2 feet 11 inches. Nine feet N.N.E. from the centre was a fourth grave, of an oval form, W.N.W. by E.S.E., 5 feet 8 inches long, 4 feet wide, and 3 feet deep, filled in with chalk and a little earth. On the bottom was the body of an adult, laid on the right side, with the head to W.N.W. the hands being in front of the face, where was placed a "food-vessel," whilst behind the head were three round scrapers of flint, and behind the neck a thin piece of unworked jet. The "food-vessel" was in a fragmentary state, and had been very lightly fired. The ornamentation is of the same character as that of fig. 2, that is, impressions of a stout thong round which cord had been wound. The inside of the lip has a number of radiating lines of this kind, and in the upper channel of the neck are two rows of vertical lines of the same. The second channel has similar vertical lines, but of smaller size, while below this, where the sides converge towards the base, is an undulating line of coarse twisted thong.

Among the material of the barrow were five round scrapers, and a flake of flint which showed signs of having been in use.

It is difficult to say which was the primary interment, for not one of the graves was at the centre. It is quite possible that all the burials had taken place at one and the same time, and that the graves had been made before the mound was thrown up. It appeared to be quite intact, there being no indication of any cutting having been made into it since it was first constructed, which must have been the case had any of the interments taken place after the erection of the mound.

CCXL. This barrow was 297 feet north of Sharp Howe, and is 60 feet in diameter, and 3 feet high. There were some peculiar features in its formation which require special notice. A flat mound appears to have been constructed in the first instance, which was made up of earth with a little chalk. Upon this a smaller mound, 42 feet in diameter, was placed, which, unlike the first one, was made of chalk with a little earth. It was enclosed by a wall, 1 foot in height, built of thin chalk slabs, resting on the primary mound, which at that part was one foot above the original surface. In the wall, at a point due south of the centre, was a break, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, thus making the wall incomplete. This is not an uncommon feature in the circles, consisting either of stone, or made by an excavated trench, which are sometimes found enclosing burials within barrows. Over and upon the two mounds additional material had been placed, of a present thickness of about a foot, but originally there must have been much more which has been removed by the plough. At a distance of 25 feet E. by S. from the centre, was a body laid on the natural surface, on the right side, with the head to S. by E., the hands being placed in front of the chest. The back was straight. In front of the face was a "food-vessel." This is reduced to many small fragments, but was when complete about 7 inches in diameter at the mouth. The ornamentation consists of carefully executed thong impressions. Inside the lip is an acute herring-bone pattern. The neck consists of a broad shallow channel, with two rows of herring-bone impressions, while below are two bands of horizontal lines of thong impressions, enclosing a band of short vertical lines between them. At the centre was a grave, with rounded corners, having a direction W.N.W. by E.S.E., 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. For a depth of 2 feet it was filled in with unmixed chalk, beneath which the material was earth with some little chalk among it. There was not the slightest indication that a body had ever been buried in it, for the grave had certainly never been disturbed, and the bones could scarcely, under the surrounding conditions, have gone entirely to decay. In this it corresponds with what was found to be the case in Willie Howe, to be noticed in the sequel, and like it is very difficult of explanation.

In the material of the mound was a single piece of a red deer's antler.

CCXLI. This barrow was 461 feet N. by W. from Sharp Howe. It is 60 feet in diameter, 5 feet high, and made of earth with some chalk here and there. Twenty feet E.S.E. from the centre and 2 feet above the original surface were some scattered burnt and unburnt bones, a fibula, and part of a pelvis, the remains, apparently, of disturbed bodies. Eighteen feet east of the centre and 3 feet

19

above the original surface was a circular hollow, 1 foot 4 inches in diameter, narrowing towards the bottom, and one foot deep. It was lined and covered over with thin chalk slabs. It contained a deposit of the burnt bones of a young person, among which was a flint knife, unburnt, laid on the convex face, and a bone pin, also unburnt, with a perforation at the end. Immediately to the north of the hollow and outside the stones covering it was a "food-vessel." It is of very friable ware, ornamented with short diagonal lines, some of them slightly curved as if made with the thumb-nail, the others wedge-shaped. Round the shoulder is a channel interrupted by four unpierced ears. The ornament on the neck is disposed to form a rude herring-bone design, and in the channel below is a similar pattern. The ornament continues to the base of the vase, but towards the bottom the lines all incline in the same direction. The inside of the lip has borne similar patterns, now nearly obliterated. It is 4 inches high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches at the bottom. The knife, of greyish flint, is $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, of oval form with a pointed end. It is carefully flaked along the edges on the convex face. The pin is made from the leg bone of a bird, and is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. Seven and a-half feet south of the centre was a second hollow $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the surface level, and like the last excavated into the barrow. It was 1 foot 3 inches in diameter and 1 foot deep, and had a covering of thin chalk slabs, but was not, like the other, lined with them. It contained the burnt bones of the body of an adult. At the centre was an oval grave with a direction N. and S., $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 2 feet deep, the bottom being dished. In it were the remains of a body, some of the bones of which had been disturbed, while others still remained in their original position. This disturbance had taken place when the barrow was opened about thirty years ago.

CCXLII. This barrow, situated not half a mile to the south of Sharp Howe, is 60 feet in diameter, 3 feet high, and made of earth, chalk, and a large number of large flint stones. At a distance of 13 feet E. by S. from the centre was an oval grave, W.N.W. by E.S.E., 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot deep, and filled in with earth and some chalk. In it was the body of a young child, laid on the left side with the head to E.S.E., the hands being up towards the face. At the feet in front of the toes was a "drinking-cup." This vessel (fig. 3) which will be best understood from the figure, is beautifully and somewhat unusually ornamented, well fired and with thin walls. It is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, 6 inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. Thirteen feet east of the centre, and 2 feet above the natural surface, was a "food-vessel," partly destroyed by the action of the plough. Close to it, and extending to the east, were many scattered bones, which, disturbed by

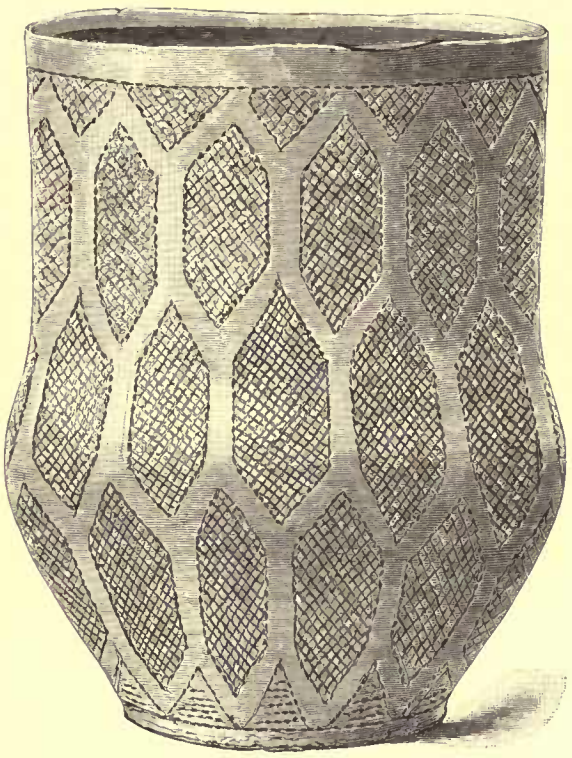


Fig. 3. "Drinking-cup" from Folkton, Yorks. ½

ploughing, had no doubt belonged to a body with which the vase had been associated. This is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. It is somewhat roughly made, and the decoration is rude in character. Inside the lip are four encircling lines of coarse thong impressions; and the broad channel forming the neck is ornamented with similar impressions irregularly disposed, but all more or less vertical. The outside of the lip bears the traces of diagonal impressed lines. Thirteen feet S.E. of the centre was a second grave, lying W.N.W. by E.S.E., $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 2 feet 3 inches deep. It contained the body of an aged man, laid on the right side, with the head, which was a foot from the west end of the grave, pointing to W.N.W., the hands being up to the face. The back was straight, but the legs were so much doubled back that the heels touched the hips. In front of the knees were some animal bones, the remains of the hind quarter of a pig.[a] Fifteen feet north of the centre, in a shallow hollow sunk only 6 inches beneath the original surface, was a body laid on the right side, with the head to W.N.W. There were some of the bones of a very young child close in front of the adult, but the bones were so much crushed by large flint stones with which the bodies had been covered, that the position of the child could not be ascertained. The bones of the adult were also in a very broken and decayed state. Nine feet N.N.W. of the centre was a hollow, covered over with large flint stones, sunk nearly a foot beneath the original surface, and lined out with wood. It had a direction W.N.W. by E.S.E., and was 3 feet long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide. It contained the body of an adult laid on the left side with the head to E.S.E., the hands being up to the face. The back

[a] The remains of portions of a pig were found in two barrows about half a mile from the present one. See *British Barrows*, pp. 274, 275, 278.

and hips were on the side of the dished bottom, on the lowest part of which, 8 inches below the level of the back, was the head, behind which was a "food-vessel" of very coarse make, the bottom being $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It is in many fragments, and the dimensions cannot now be determined. The lip is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, and is impressed with three thong lines, while the edge is ornamented with short transverse impressions on a larger scale. The hollow of the neck is filled with horizontal lines of coarse thong impression, while below similar lines are disposed in a zigzag, making a vandyke border.

At the centre, laid upon wood on the original surface, was the body of an adult laid on the right side, with the head to N. by W., the hands being up to the face. Behind the back of the head were a round scraper and two flakes of flint, beneath the head was another flake, and between the face and knees a flint knife and a long flake. The knife, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, is of an oval form with a pointed end, and is flaked on both faces. The flakes, which are of knife form, might well have been used as such.

Among the material of the mound were a quartzite hammer-stone, a flint knife 2 inches long, half of another knife, still $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long, a round scraper, three flakes and a core, all of flint.

Fig. 4. "Food-vessel" from Folkton, Yorks. $\frac{1}{2}$

CCXLIII. About a hundred yards to the north of the last was a barrow, 60 feet in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high. It contained a single interment, at the centre. The body had been laid upon wood, in a dished hollow slightly sunk beneath the natural surface, having a direction N.E. by S.W., $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The body was placed on the left side, the head being to N.E. and the hands in front of the chest. The lower part of the back, as also the hips and toes, were laid on the sloping side of the hollow, the head being on the bottom. Before the face was a "food-vessel" (fig. 4), a knife, a round and a long scraper of flint. The vase, which is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom, is, as will be seen from the figure, a very fine example of the class to which it belongs, and shows great skill and delicacy

in the application of the ornament. In addition to having five unpierced ears at the shoulder, it has, just beneath the rim, a broad ear perforated, probably for the purpose of passing a thong through in order to suspend it.

The ornament is of two kinds; first, delicately incised or impressed lines, and second, impressions of the point of a thin flat strip of wood or bone, cut at an angle, so that each impression is V shaped. The inside of the lip has a herring-bone pattern of the first kind, bounded on either side by a band of V shaped impressions; upon the edge a zigzag line has been left in relief by making two rows of V shaped depressions. The neck, and a zone of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch below it, is covered with horizontal furrows, all of which are filled with impressions of the angular stick, set very close together, and producing a rich effect. Below this, and continuing to the bottom, are bands of neatly executed herring-bone pattern, similar to the inside of the lip, but bounded by groups of simple lines.

The knife, which has lost a small piece at the pointed end, is still $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide. It is very beautifully made, the flaking being done with great accuracy.

In the material of the mound were found a round scraper and a flake, both of flint.

CCXLIV. Not quite half a mile north-east of Sharp Howe is a barrow much ploughed down, but still 2 feet high, with a diameter of 50 feet, made of earth and flint stones with some chalk grit. At a distance of 12 feet south of the centre was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult placed in a small oval heap on the natural surface. Three and a half feet S.W. of the centre, and also on the natural surface, were the burnt bones of an infant, with which was placed a small vessel of pottery, rudely made and without any ornamentation, in shape like an ordinary coffee cup, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch at the bottom. At the centre, in a hollow 1 foot deep, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in diameter, was a cinerary urn, covered by a thin, flat piece of sandstone the size of the urn mouth, and filled with the burnt bones of an adult, among which were many fragments of burnt flint, the remains of an unworked piece of the local flint. Above the urn were many large flint blocks, with charcoal among them.

The urn is 12 inches high, and the same in width at the mouth, being 4 inches wide at the bottom. The overhanging rim, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, is ornamented with a herring-bone pattern, made by six rows of lines drawn in the moist clay with a sharp-pointed instrument; the remainder of the vessel is quite plain.

In the material of the barrow were several flakes and chippings of flint, four round scrapers, one a very small one, and a well-made knife of flint, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, carefully flaked all round the edges.

CCXLV. This barrow, remarkable both in its structure and contents, was situated about three-quarters of a mile east of Sharp Howe. It is 54 feet in diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high at the centre, but deeper on the sides, and is placed upon a natural rise in the land. It was composed of very dark-coloured earth, with many flint, chalk, and other stones intermixed. The earth was laid in layers, with thin beds of chalk rubble between them. At a mean distance of 12 feet, but varying from 10 to 15 feet, from the centre, measuring to its inner edge, was a circular trench, varying in depth and width, but with a mean of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot deep, sunk into the chalk rock, and filled in with earth, having charcoal here and there amongst it. Beyond this trench, at a distance of 8 feet from its outer edge, and extending from a point 22 feet S. by W. from the centre of the barrow to another point at the same distance N. of the centre, was a second trench, somewhat irregular in its curve. It was 2 feet wide and 3 feet deep, and filled in with chalk rubble and a little earth. At a point E. by S. from the centre, and touching the inner edge of the outer trench, of which it might be said to form a part, was an oval grave, lying N. by S., 3 feet long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot wide, and sunk 14 inches beneath the surface. It contained the body of a child about five years old, placed about 6 inches above the bottom, laid on the right side with the head to N., the hands being in front of the face. Behind the head and touching it was an object made of chalk, and behind and touching the hips were two other larger ones, placed close together, the largest the furthest to the south. Just beyond them was a broken piece of a bone pin, 3 inches long.

The chalk objects are made from the stone of the immediate district, probably obtained from some of the numerous blocks, which, falling from the sea cliff, are found abundantly on the shore. They are in form like a round box with a curved cover, and have at the centre of the top a circular part raised a little above the level, and suggesting a lid. They are quite solid. They are respectively, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, and $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, 5 inches, and 4 inches wide. The top in each case is occupied by a series of concentric circles. The largest one (Plate I. fig. 1) has a single series, consisting of a central disc, surrounded by four raised circular bands. From the outside of the circles issue four triangular points like those of a star, having a plain surface, the space between being filled in with cross hatching of delicate lines, two formed of squares,

1

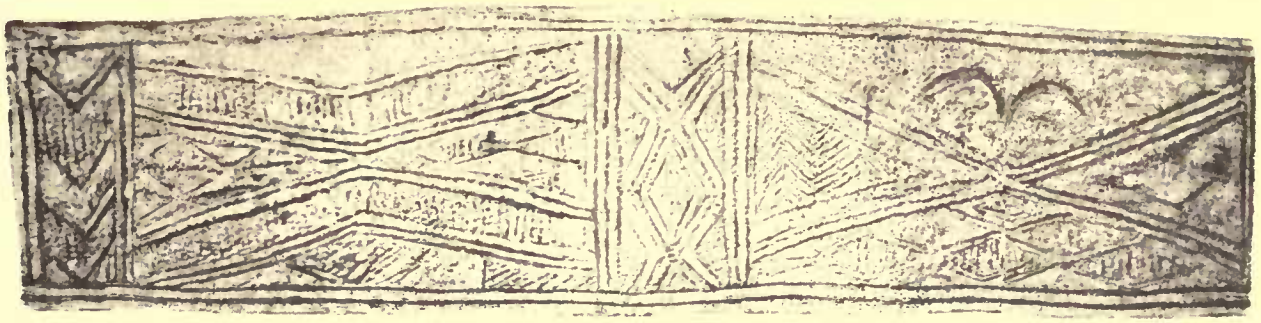
2

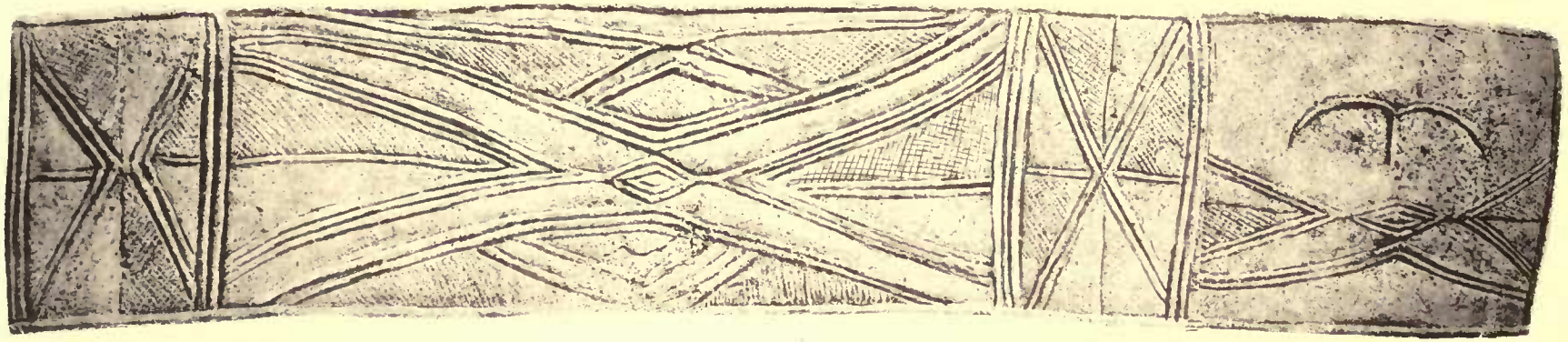
3

4

CHALK OBJECTS FOUND IN A BARROW ON FOLKTON WOLD, YORKS.

Figs. 1, 2, 3. *View of the tops of the objects* (½ *linear*). *Fig.* 4. *View of the smallest of the objects* (*full size*).





PATTERNS ON THE SIDES OF CHALK OBJECTS FOUND IN A BARROW ON FOLKTON WOLD, YORKS.

½ *linear.*

one of diamonds, and the fourth by parallel lines. The middle-sized one (Plate I. fig. 2) has four series, each consisting of a central part, and two raised circular bands round it. The smallest (Plate I. figs. 3 and 4) has two series similar to the last, but in addition has the whole of the higher central part of the top filled with raised bands, which follow the outline of the two conjoined series of circles. The patterns on the sides, which are well shown in the figures (Plate II. figs. 1, 2, 3,) are made by raised bands and incised lines, some crossing and others parallel; some of the raised bands are notched, and in this way divided into small sections, others have something approaching the Mæander upon them.

Fifteen feet S.S.E. from the centre and just outside the inner trench was a circular hole, 5 feet in diameter and 4 feet deep, having many large flint stones over the top. It was filled in with earth, among which was much burnt soil; but there were no indications of an interment having ever taken place in it. Eleven feet E.S.E. from the centre and 1 foot above the natural surface was the body of an adult man, laid on the right side with the head to N.E., the right hand being under the head, the left in front of the face. The body was much contracted and the radius of the left arm had been broken and re-united. There were no appearances as if the mound had ever been cut into to deposit this body, as was the case also in that of the child just before mentioned. Nine feet E.S.E. from the centre and 2 feet above the natural surface was a body, but so broken up and disturbed by the plough that neither its position nor anything in connection with it could be ascertained. Nine and a half feet S.E. from the centre, and about 9 inches beneath the original surface level, was the body of an adult laid on the left side, with the head to W., the hands being in front of the face. The body was not much contracted. Fourteen feet N. of the centre, and placed on the original surface, was the body of a man laid on the right side, the head to W.S.W., the arms being crossed over in front of the chest. This burial was just within the limits of the inner trench, and there were no signs that the barrow had ever been disturbed at the place since its erection, as was also the case in the preceding burial. Fourteen feet N.W. by N. from the centre and just above the original surface was the body of an infant, laid on the left side with the head to S. This, also, was just within the limits of the trench, nor had the mound ever been disturbed there. At the centre had been a cairn of flint and other stones with some chalk intermixed, which had been placed on the original surface. It had covered two adult bodies, those apparently of a male and female, with one of which a "drinking-cup" had been associated. The cairn had been disturbed in modern days, and the bodies taken out and partly returned,

Fig. 5. "Drinking-cup" from Folkton, Yorks. ½

the skulls having been removed. The "drinking-cup" (fig. 5) also had been replaced, though in a broken condition. It is well made, $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, 6 inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom, and is ornamented by impressions of a narrow piece of notched bone or wood, forming patterns of various kinds, composed of groups of lines. An unusual feature in the design is a succession of saltires joined at their bases, and forming a vandyke pattern. Among the material of the mound were a few chippings of flint.

CCXLVI. About a quarter of a mile west of the last barrow was another, 50 feet in diameter and 2 feet high, made of earth with large flint stones here and there, in some places many being found together. There was no grave, nor were any remains or signs of an interment discovered. Among the material of the mound were many chippings and three round scrapers of flint, and a rough piece of lignite, 2 inches long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, having a groove cut upon one side at the wider end.

CCXLVII. This barrow, situated on Flotmanby Wold, but also in the parish of Folkton, is one of three placed not far apart. It is 70 feet in diameter, 4 feet high, and made of earth, with some flint stones here and there. At a distance of 11 feet from the centre and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the original surface was a vessel of the form of a cinerary urn, placed in a hollow sunk into the existing mound. There was no appearance of its ever having accompanied an interment. It is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, 7 inches wide at the mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the bottom, the overhanging rim being $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch deep. The ornament is composed of well-defined thong impressions. On the lip are two encircling lines; while the face of the rim is covered with a somewhat confused design of diagonal lines, some of them crossing each other, others filling up the irregular angular spaces. Below the rim is a hollowed channel, of about the width of the rim, and ornamented in the same manner. The barrow proved to have been already opened at the centre,

and from the information of a shepherd, who remembered its being done about thirty years ago, a "pankin" had then been found.

In the material of the mound were five scrapers and three cores, a very large number of flakes and chippings, all of flint, two pounding stones of quartzite, and a single potsherd.

CCXLVIII. About 50 yards E.S.E. of the last barrow was another, of which, on account of its having been placed on a natural swell of the land and much ploughed down, it was impossible to ascertain the diameter. At the centre was a grave, sunk 5 feet beneath the surface, oval in form, lying E. and W., 7 feet long by 6 feet wide. Above it was a pile of flint stones which extended down the sides of the grave for a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the central part, 3 feet 9 inches in diameter, being filled in with earth. Beneath this, for a space of 1 foot deep, the grave was composed of earth and clay, having below large flint and cobble stones and then earth and clay. On the bottom, towards the west end, was the body of an adult laid on the left side with the head to E., the left hand being up to the face and the right on the stomach.

In the material of the mound were many flint chippings and flakes, one of which, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, showed signs of wear along both edges, made, apparently, by its having been used upon some hard material. There was also a curved flint knife, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, very neatly flaked along the greater part of both the curved and straight edge.

CCXLIX. At a distance of 20 yards N.E. of the last barrow but one was a mound 50 feet in diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, and made entirely of earth. At the centre was a circular excavation 6 feet in diameter at the top, and narrowing to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the bottom, sunk beneath the surface through 5 feet of earth and 2 feet into the chalk rock to a depth of 7 feet. In it, 3 feet 9 inches from the top, was the bottom of a vessel of pottery of the ordinary ware. Two feet above the bottom was an oblong hole, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by 1 inch, as if a small wooden stake had been driven in it. A similar feature was observed in the barrow called Metlow Hill, No. CCLIII. There were no signs of an interment, nor did it appear as if a burial had ever taken place there or in any other part of the mound. Among the material were several potsherds, many chippings and flakes of flint, three of them large, one showing that it had been much used along both edges, five scrapers, one large but roughly made, the half of a saw $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long, and a small knife $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long, flaked on both edges.

Parish of Hunmanby.

The two barrows about to be described are situated in a parish adjoining to Folkton, and about three miles to the south-east of Sharp Howe.

CCL. The first, in Cansdale bottom on the Howe Farm, proved to be not only large but prolific of interments. It is 100 feet in diameter, and still, though much reduced by ploughing, 3 feet high. It had been made almost entirely of turfs, the decay of which had resulted in a very dark-coloured soil, there being also a few flint stones and on the south side some chalk gravel. Within the mound, having a diameter of 76 feet, was a low circular wall made of chalk, 3 feet wide and only 7 inches high, and placed on the original surface. At a distance of 27 feet S.E. by S. from the centre was an oval grave, lying E. and W., 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, and sunk 10 inches beneath the surface of the ground. In it was the body of a child, laid on the right side, with the head to W. In front of the face was a "food-vessel," and beyond it a bone pin 3 inches long, perforated at the flattened end, a flint knife, and a chipping of flint; beneath the hips was a small flint flake. The "food-vessel" is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 5 inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom, and has four perforated ears in a channel beneath the shoulder. The inside of the lip is concave and has a row of short diagonal impressions. The whole of the outside is covered with somewhat irregular lines of impressions resembling those within the lip, and like them made by the application of a piece of stout cord whipped with finer cord. The knife, which is made from an outside flake of a flint nodule, is chipped along one edge, the other being quite sharp. It is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long and 1 inch wide. At the same distance, 27 feet S.E., from the centre, was a shallow oval grave, S.W. by W. and N.E. by E., 5 feet long, 3 feet wide, and sunk to a depth of 8 inches beneath the original surface. In it was the body of an adult man, laid on the left side with the head to S.W. by W., the right hand was in front of the face, the left beneath the head. Twenty-four feet E. by N. of the centre was another oval grave, lying E. and W., 8 feet long, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 14 inches deep; like the two preceding ones it was dished at the bottom. It was filled in with soil and a few flints, and above it were two large flint stones which reached from the ground level to the present surface of the mound. In it towards the west end was the body of an adult laid on the right side, the head being to W., the right hand was beneath the hips, the left on the chest. In front and reaching from the bottom of the neck to the

stomach were twenty small conical buttons of inferior jet (fig. 6) slightly varying in size, with two perforations at the back uniting but not coming to the surface of the face. They appear to be scarcely strong enough to act as buttons, and it is probable that they were merely decorative, the dress being fastened in some other way. Just above the hips was a thin penannular ring of bronze (fig. 7), $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, the ends overlapping, which may have been used in connection with a belt at the waist. Close to the feet was a piece of a "drinking-cup." Behind the hips were seven ribs of a small ox, which when placed there must have had the flesh upon them, or at any rate the connecting ligaments. When the bones of the body were uncovered the skeleton had the appearance of having been laid on the back, though the head inclined to the south, but the bones of the lower part of the body were in a position implying that it had been placed on the right side. This was no doubt caused by the upper bones being pressed back by the overlying soil when the flesh had decayed. I have before met with similar appearances. Fifteen feet N.E. by N. from the centre and one foot above the original surface was the body of a man laid on the right side with the head to W. by N., the right hand being under the head, and the left in front of the face. Before the left knee was a flint knife, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide. Thirteen feet E.N.E. of the centre, and like the last one foot above the original surface, was the body of an adult laid on the right side, with the head to S.S.E., the right hand being under the head, the left on the chest. There were many disturbed bones both above and beneath it, and it is doubtful if the body itself had not been re-interred, as all the bones were not present, and those that were there had the appearance of having been relaid. Underneath the last body was that of a man laid on the left side, with the head to N., the right hand being in front of the face, the left under the head. In front of the face was a round scraper of flint. It is possible that the interment of this body had caused the re-interment of that above it, supposing that process had taken place. Thirteen feet S.E. by S. from the centre was the body of a young woman, also one foot above the surface, laid on the left side, with the head to E. by N., the hands being in front of the face. Before the right knee was a flint flake, before the left foot another, and under the hips a third. Although these flints had no

Fig. 6. Jet Buttons found at Hunmanby, Yorks. $\frac{1}{1}$

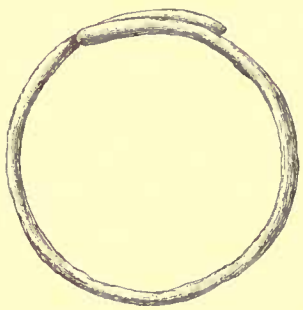


Fig. 7. Bronze Ring from Hunmanby, Yorks. $\frac{1}{1}$

secondary work upon them they were certainly associated with the body, and not accidentally present. They have the appearance of having been fresh struck off from the block when deposited in the grave. Fourteen and a-half feet N.E. from the centre and 2 feet above the original surface was the body of a young person laid on the left side, with the head to S. by W.; the right hand was in front of the face, the left being under the head. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet N.W. of the last body and immediately beneath the present surface of the mound were some bones, a tibia, etc., which may have been disturbed and partly destroyed by the plough, but which had more the appearance of bones displaced to inter another body. Still further to N.W. were some more disturbed bones. Eleven feet S. by W. of the centre and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot above the original surface was the body of a very young child, almost an infant, the bones of which were too much decayed to admit of their relative position being ascertained. Nine feet E. by S. from the centre and 1 foot above the original surface was the body of a young person laid on the left side, with the head to S. by W., the right hand being in front of the face, the left under the head. Fourteen feet N.N.W. of the centre and placed on the original surface was the body of an adult, laid on the right side with the head to S.E., the right hand being under the head, the left in front of the face.

The central and presumably primary interment was very difficult to make out satisfactorily, the appearances at that part of the barrow being peculiar and puzzling. It seemed as if a body (A) had been interred at the centre, which had been disturbed by the introduction of another body (B), and that a grave had then been made in which the body (A) had been re-deposited, the body (B) being laid partly over the grave and partly beyond its limits. There was at the centre a grave (α), lying N.W. and S.E., 9 feet long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. It was filled in at the S.E. end with earth and a little chalk gravel, and at the N.W. end with chalk gravel and some earth. At the S.E. end was the body (A), which had certainly been re-interred, the bones being in disorder, some above a foot deeper than others, one femur being on the bottom of the grave, the other 14 inches above it. Some of the bones—for example, those of the right foot, and several lumbar vertebræ—must have had the ligaments undecayed when they were placed where they were found. All the bones of the body were there except the lower jaw. Towards the south-east end of grave (α), and to the north-east of it, another grave (β) had been excavated, partly overlapping grave (α). It had a direction N. by E. and S. by W., 6 feet long, 5 feet wide, and sunk to a depth of 2 feet, partly into the first grave (α), and partly into undisturbed ground. In it on the bottom was the body (B) of a large old man, laid on the right side with the

head to N.N.E., the right hand being up to the face, the left in front of the knees. Under the head was a flint chipping. Also on the floor of the grave (β) were the bottom and some pieces of a vessel of pottery and the right humerus of a very young child. Immediately to the S.W. of the last body, but laid on the original surface level, partly on the surface and partly over the grave (β), was the body of an adult, probably a woman, laid on the right side, the head direction being to E. by N.; the hands were in front of the neck, the back being much bent forward. There were no bones of the head remaining, but the body seemed never to have been disturbed, nor was there anything apparent to account for its absence. Just north of the body were several ribs of a very young child, probably belonging to the same body whose right humerus was found at the bottom of grave (β). In the material of the mound were a piece of red deer's antler, and a broad flint flake.

CCLI. About half a mile to the north-east of the last, and on the crown of the hill which bounds the valley in which it was situated, was a barrow, the limits of which it was impossible to ascertain. It could never, at any time, have been a high mound, and was at present not 6 inches above the surface level. A circular trench surrounded the centre, having a diameter of 24 feet. It was excavated in the chalk rock to a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot, and was about as much in width. In it at a point 12 feet N.W. from the centre was a circular hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in diameter, and sunk 1 foot below the bottom of the trench. It was, like the trench itself, filled in with chalk rubble, and near the bottom was a piece of red deer's antler burnt. Four feet north-east of the centre was a hollow sunk 2 feet beneath the original surface, having a direction N.N.E. by S.S.W., 6 feet long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and filled in with chalk and earth. It contained nothing besides the filling in, except one of the bones of a human pelvis near the top. Thirteen and a half feet west of the centre, and just outside the trench, was the body of an adult laid on the left side on the original surface, with the head to S.E. the hands being in front of the face. Between the hips and the heels was a "drinking-cup." The vessel is 7 inches high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. The ornamentation, which covers the whole surface, consists, at the top of the vase, of eleven encircling and parallel lines, made by the application of a notched piece of bone on the moist clay. Immediately beneath is a row of oval markings which incline to the right. Then follows a plain space, succeeded by a row of lines inclining to the left, made by a sharp-pointed tool. Beneath are six parallel lines, similar to those at the top, having a row of oval markings beneath. Then comes a plain space, beneath which, and extending to the bottom, are six parallel lines the same in form as those above.

Close to the head were many pieces of a red deer's antler, much decayed, but showing signs of having been part of an implement, possibly a pick. Within the trench, 10 feet W.S.W. of the centre, was a hollow lying N.N.W. and S.S.E., $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 2 feet deep, and filled with chalk and earth. In it and on the level of the original surface was the greater part of the bones of a disturbed body (A), the pelvic bones being close to the head. Among the bones were some pieces of a roughly-made vessel of pottery, probably the remains of a "food-vessel" originally deposited with the body, and part of a red deer's antler. Underneath the skull, but not in its right position, was the lower jaw belonging to it, and beneath the jaw that of another body (B), the skull of which was found 10 inches beneath. There were also in the hollow pieces of two vessels of coarsely-made pottery, some of which were of the same kind as those found with the body (A), and, no doubt, part of the same vessel, and the half of a long and narrow flint flake.

At the centre were the much-disturbed bones of a child of about five or six years old, laid on the original surface. Close to the bones was a piece of red deer's antler and some pieces of a "drinking-cup" which had most probably been buried with the child, but equally with its bones disturbed and broken by the plough. Six feet to the west of these bones were some bones of an adult, and still further to the west were many other disturbed bones, having a flint saw with them, as well as pieces of a "drinking-cup" much like those found with the child but thicker. There were also among the bones some sherds of pottery of the same kind as those found with the body (A), and possibly belonging to the same vessel. Part of a red deer's antler was also met with among the bones. It is probable that these bones belonged to one of the bodies, most likely to (B), which were discovered in a disturbed and imperfect condition in the hollow above-mentioned.

Parish of Wold Newton.

CCLII. About a mile to the east of the village of Wold Newton is the largest barrow in the East Riding of Yorkshire, called "Willie Howe." It is 120 feet in diameter, 25 feet high, of a conical form, and formed almost entirely of chalk, but with a little earth here and there. It was opened in the year 1857 by the late Lord Londesborough, who, however, discovered no interment. A record of this was found on re-opening the barrow in 1887, in the shape of an oblong slab of stone, 26 inches by 23 inches and $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, placed in a hollow made at the time, and sunk 3 feet beneath the natural surface, a little to the west of the true centre. It had engraved upon it in Roman capitals the following inscription:

On the face:

THIS TUMULUS
CALLED WILLIE HOW WAS OPENED
BY ORDER OF THE RT. HON.
ALBERT DENISON DENISON
K.C.H. F.R.S. F.S.A.
FIRST BARON LONDESBOROUGH
OF LONDESBOROUGH
IN THE EAST RIDING
OF THE COUNTY OF YORK
A.D. OCT. 13, 1857.

On the north edge:

IN THE 21ST YEAR OF
VICTORIA
QUEEN OF G. BRITAIN.

On the east edge:

S. G. W.

On the west edge:

N. & E. R.

On the south edge:

P. G. L.

At the centre was an oval grave, lying N.E. and S.W., 4 feet by 2 feet 8 inches, sunk through the chalk rock to a depth of 12 feet 4 inches, and filled in with chalk and a little earth. It had evidently never been disturbed since it was first filled in. For a depth of 5 feet from the top the material was chalk with some earth intermixed; then for 3 feet it consisted of large pieces of chalk without any earth; then for 2 feet there were smaller chalk stones with a little earth; then for 2 feet chalk grit; and beneath that the rest of the grave was filled in with large pieces of chalk and a small quantity of earth. In the bottom was a further excavation, 1 foot 4 inches by 11 inches, and 1 foot deep. There was no appearance of a body ever having been interred, and, as four pieces of broken animal bone were met with among the filling-in at different places in a perfectly sound condition, it

is quite impossible that the bones of a human body could have gone totally to decay. As burnt bones never appear to undergo any change, there could never have been a cremated body buried in it. Five chippings and a flake of flint were also found among the filling-in of the grave.

Throughout the whole course of my barrow explorations I have never met with anything that I can compare with this mound. It was of more than ordinary size, and constructed at the expense of much labour, well proportioned and symmetrically made, and in every way appeared to have been intended for a place of sepulture. Beneath it, at the centre, was a deep excavation in the solid chalk rock, in which were found remains of animal bones almost as sound as when they were deposited, a condition which would have equally been incidental to human bones. No disturbance had ever taken place within the grave to account for the disappearance of the body or its accompanying relics, and it is almost impossible to believe that an interment had ever been made in it. I can attempt no explanation of the very peculiar features here manifested, except one which I have arrived at with great reluctance. Until I opened Willie Howe I had always disbelieved in the erection of such memorials as cenotaphs at the time when these barrows were constructed. That supposition appears, however, to be countenanced by the experience of this mound, and I am forced to admit the possibility that this very large mass of chalk stones was thrown up merely to commemorate, and not to contain the body of, some great personage. There is still a difficulty which this explanation does not remove. If it is admitted that a mound like this might be raised merely as a memorial, that does not explain why beneath it a deep excavation should have been made. On more than one previous occasion I have found mounds apparently sepulchral, which proved to be entirely wanting in any signs of an interment. I came to the conclusion in these cases, though it was sometimes difficult to admit it, that the bones had gone entirely to decay, leaving no trace behind them. It is possible, however, that in these mounds, as in the case of Willie Howe, there had never been any burial within them; and that they, equally with this in question, were memorial and not sepulchral.

The facts brought to light by the opening of these barrows throw some additional light upon practices in connection with burial, which I have before observed in other sepulchral mounds of the Yorkshire wolds.

The habit of placing food with the buried person has been evidenced by the finding of animal bones associated with a burial in two instances, while a number of interments have been found where a vessel of pottery, which can scarcely have

contained anything except food, has been met with placed beside the dead man or woman.

That both inhumation and cremation were in use at the same time, though the former is by far the most frequent, has been corroborated by the results of the late explorations. The custom of laying the body in the grave in a position which implies that at the time of burial the face fronted the sun is amply confirmed by the thirty-six cases where the bones were sufficiently complete to admit of the position being ascertained.[a] If these burials are analysed it will be found that out of twenty-one bodies laid on the right side, twelve had the head pointing to west; of the remaining nine only one had the head to east, the others having it to north or south. Out of fifteen bodies laid on the left side, five had the head to east, only one having it to west, the remaining nine having it to north or south.

On the other hand the examination of the mounds just described has convinced me that the opinion I had hitherto entertained, that where no remains of an interment were found in a grave or otherwise in a sepulchral mound such absence was due to the decay of the bones, was an erroneous one. In some of these barrows, notably in Nos. CCXL, CCXLVI, CCXLIX, and CCLII, there was an entire absence of human bones under circumstances where it is certain that had a body ever been interred its remains must have been found; in the case of No. CCLII small fragments of animal bones in a quite sound condition were met with in the grave, showing that the surrounding material was a sufficiently preservative one. I have therefore felt obliged to come to the conclusion that on rare occasions a mound was raised not to cover an interment, but, presumably to be a memorial to a person whose body for one reason or another, and many may be suggested, it was found impossible to bury in the usual way or perhaps at all; that in fact these early inhabitants of Britain erected cenotaphs.

The most remarkable and valuable discovery has been of the three chalk objects found in association with the body of a young child in barrow No. CCXLV. Nothing whatever of the kind, or indeed of any object of a similar nature, has before been met with; they are quite novel in material, form, and to a certain extent in their ornamentation. That they belong to the bronze age may I think be predicated with certainty, not only on account of the circumstances surrounding them, but also from the character of the patterns upon them. The barrow in which they were found was one of many in near proximity, all of which presented

[a] The question is discussed in *British Barrows*, p. 25, where a table of relative positions and compass direction will be found.

features in construction and in various buried articles of pottery and implements such as have hitherto been attributed, and upon amply sufficient evidence, to that period. There was nothing to show that they had been later introductions into the barrow, all the appearances suggested that they were placed there during the erection of the mound, the primary burial in which contained a "drinking-cup" markedly characteristic of vessels which have on other occasions been found associated with articles of bronze. The ornamentation upon them, with the exception of the series of concentric circles on the top of each, consists of combinations of straight lines, such as is found on the work of many and widely separated peoples in a primitive condition, some in what may be called a savage state. It more especially resembles what occurs as decoration on the better kind of pottery and the bronze weapons and implements of the people of Britain and other parts of Europe, and of Asia Minor, during the time before the knowledge of iron had arisen. There is a great similarity between the ornamentation of these chalk objects and the early pottery of some of the islands of the Aegean, at a time when bronze was in use for weapons and implements. This is shown on vases found in the island of Anti-Paros, one of which, in the British Museum, a vessel with a lid, is in form and to some extent in ornamentation much like the chalk objects.[a] There is less in common with the ornamentation on pottery and other materials from Hissarlik and Mykenae, which appear to manifest an advance in design, both as regards that of the islands of the Aegean and of Britain and the other western parts of Europe. The patterns upon the chalk objects have nothing in common with those on the work of what has been called the late-Keltic period, into which another and quite distinct principle of design enters and dominates. The combination of lines on the chalk objects is of straight ones, and where any curvature exists it is only in the concentric form of a circular pattern, without any approach to the spiral or the convolutions of a diverging spiral so emphatically characteristic of the early iron period; neither do the smaller details on these objects agree with those of that time. It is true that upon the smallest of the chalks the top has a pattern almost identical with that upon one of the stone balls found not unfrequently in Scotland,[b] and which have been thought by some to belong to a time when iron was known. But it is by no means certain that the balls in question are of the age of iron; and even

[a] Upon a vase found in a tomb near Idrias in Caria are some patterns which bear a strong resemblance to some of those on the chalk objects. Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v. p. 328, figs. 232, 233.

[b] Engraved in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pl. iii. fig. 24.

supposing them to be so, the pattern common to the chalk and to the stone ball is not one which possesses a character exclusively attaching to late-Keltic ornamentation, which mainly depends upon the diverging spiral.

They have nothing to attach them to Roman or Saxon times, and as we cannot suppose they belong to a period before the introduction of metal into Britain there does not appear to be any period to which they can justly be attributed, except that already claimed for them, a time when weapons and implements were made of the metal which has given its name, and not without justice, to the Bronze Age. In addition to the patterns they possess another and very remarkable representation, that of the human face, for it can be nothing else, which is shown upon all the three, most conventionally upon the middle-sized one, which manifests throughout less skill in workmanship than do the others. It bears a strong resemblance to the so-called owl-head on many of the vases found by Schliemann at Hissarlik, which he associates with Athene.[a] There can be no doubt that it is the human face, and not an owl-head; and indeed on some of the Hissarlik vessels other parts of the human body are shown in connection with the head. This representation appears to have been regarded as the most important design on the chalk objects, for it occupies a situation separated by upright panels from the rest of the decoration, and is placed upon a perfectly plain surface, so that it stands out as if framed, and inviting particular attention. I think this must be considered as the principal feature in connection with these enigmatical objects, and if we are ever able to ascertain what was their original intention, it will probably be found through an explanation of the significancy, probably a religious one, of the representation of the human face. Into the question of what was their use or purpose, I do not feel qualified to enter, nor have I any opinion upon the subject; all that suggests itself to me is, that they cannot have been intended to be handled; the softness of the material of which they are made and the elaborateness of the decoration appear to preclude any such idea.

[a] Some rude human figures have been found engraved on stone and associated with burial in a dolmen at Collorgues, near Uzès (Gard), and in sepulchral caves in La Marne and at La Bellehaye à Boury (Oise). The face there represented is not unlike that on the chalk objects. The burials appear to belong to the polished stone period. *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, vol. xxii., 3e Série, vol. v. p. 9, where they are engraved. Upon a club-shaped instrument of limestone found in a neolithic place of burial at Folha das Barradas, near Cintra, Portugal, is a figure somewhat like that in question, together with one of a crescent. C. Ribeiro, *Mémoire présenté à l'Académie des Sciences de Lisbonne sur quelques monuments préhistoriques, p.* 85, *figs.* 87, 88. *Lisbon*, 1880. A figure much like that on the chalk objects occurs as part of the decoration on Saxon brooches found at Fairford and other places.

Parish of Bempton.

CCLIII. At a distance of above three quarters of a mile north of the well-known Danes Dyke, which cuts off the promontory of Flamborough Head and fortifies it against the adjoining high land of the Wolds, is a barrow called Metlow Hill. It is 90 feet in diameter, and still, though much ploughed down and having had the highest part removed some years ago, 2 feet high. It is placed upon a knoll rising above the ordinary surface level, and was made of earth with some stones, of which several were found placed together, here and there, more especially on the south and east sides of the mound, where, 38 feet from the centre, they assumed a curved form for about 100 feet in length, and had somewhat of the appearance of being the remains of a stone circle which had been made within the limits of the barrow. Beyond these points there were no stones found in a position where had there been a circle they might have been expected. At a distance of 25 feet S. by W. from the centre, and upon the original surface of the ground, was a "food-vessel," laid on its side. There were no signs of a body having been buried at the spot, but in this case, from the nature of the surrounding earth, it is quite possible the bones of an unburnt body might have gone totally to decay. The vase is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom; it is well made, and ornamented with great care and delicacy. Inside the lip is a band of incised herring-bone pattern within two impressed thong lines, and on its edge is a smaller line of herring-bone. Round the neck are five neatly impressed thong lines; below this is a channel, interrupted by four unpierced ears, and filled with a herring-bone pattern. Beyond the lower edge of the channel is a similar line of herring-bone, within thong lines. At the foot are impressed vertical lines.

At the centre was a grave, excavated to a depth of 2 feet 9 inches, in clayey gravel, which there constitutes the subsoil. It had a direction east and west, being 4 feet 10 inches long and 2 feet wide. Towards the west end the north side inclined inwards, so that the grave was not square at that end, but of a somewhat pointed form. In the bottom at the pointed end was a circular hole 6 inches in diameter and 4 inches deep, containing nothing beyond earth similar to that of which the mound was formed. The grave, which was slightly dished, had been lined on the bottom and at the sides to a height of 18 inches with wood, and had at the same level been provided with a covering of wood. That the

grave had thus been covered in was indicated by its being found hollow up to that level. The soil above was so strongly compacted, that it had borne the weight of carts and horses passing over during the many years the land had been under cultivation. At the west end, and extending from the surface of the barrow into the hollow of the grave, was a circular hole, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, which looked as if it was the space left by the decay of a stake, driven in, possibly, to mark the site of the grave. At the middle of the grave, and close to the south side, was a "food-vessel," laid in front of the face of a young child, about five or six years old, which was placed on the right side, with the head to W., the hands being up towards the face. The vase is roughly made, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches at the bottom. On the inside of the lip are groups of short parallel lines. Round the neck and in a channel below are impressed diagonal lines, forming a kind of herring-bone pattern. At a point 12 feet west of the centre were the remains of a vessel of pottery, which had, apparently, been destroyed in digging for rabbits.

Among the material of the mound were fifteen scrapers of unburnt and one of calcined flint, some of them large and peculiar in form, three knives, three saws, a broken leaf-shaped arrow point, many flakes and chippings, all of flint, a pounding stone of quartzite, and three sherds of pottery.

Parish of Harpham.

The barrow about to be described, though not far distant from the wolds, is situated upon the flat land lying between the chalk escarpment and the sea. The district, of which Holderness constitutes a large portion, does not contain many sepulchral mounds; nevertheless, in spite of its formerly swampy condition, it was not destitute of occupation by man in prehistoric times. This is evidenced by the number of stone and bronze weapons and implements which have been found throughout its area, and by the remains of several lake-dwellings, some not far distant from the barrow now under notice, two of which have been most carefully and exhaustively excavated and examined by Mr. Thomas Boynton, late of Ulrome Grange, but now of Bridlington Quay.

CCLIV. On the farm of Little Kelk are two small barrows, not far apart, one of which I opened. It is 56 feet in diameter, 2 feet high, but much ploughed down, and is made of earth. At the centre was a circular hollow, 18 inches in diameter, sunk through the surface soil for a depth of 9 inches on to the clayey

subsoil. It contained a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, much mixed with earth, and having a piece of burnt flint among them.

In the material of the mound were a scraper of unburnt and another of burnt flint, some flint chippings, and a piece of a ground axe of green stone.

Parish of Bishop Burton.

The barrows about to be described are situated in a different district from those hitherto noticed, and are beyond the limits of the wolds, about five miles west by south from Beverley. They are found on the farm of Littlewood in the parish of Bishop Burton, and form a large group of about twenty in number, varying much in size. Some of them were opened many years ago by Dr. Hull of Beverley, with what results I am unacquainted beyond the fact that a large and fine cinerary urn, now in the York Museum, was found in one of them. An implement of bronze is said to have been placed among the burnt bones contained in the urn; it is, however, now lost.

CCLV. The first barrow I opened is one of the larger of the group, and, like all the others, was composed of earth and clay with a very little chalk intermixed. It is 98 feet in diameter, and still, though it has lost several feet during many years cultivation, 9 feet high. A cut had been made into the mound on some previous occasion, probably by Dr. Hull, which was carried from north to south through the middle of the barrow. It was 4 feet wide and the same in depth, and, therefore, did not reach by five feet the original surface level at the centre. Amongst the disturbed earth thrown back into it was a portion of a "drinking-cup," with a handle attached, which had possibly accompanied an interment disturbed by the former diggers.

At a distance of $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet S.W. by W. from the centre, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet beneath the surface of the barrow, was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, laid in a circular heap, 9 inches in diameter, and having an oval flint knife, calcined, among the bones. The knife is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, having one face untouched by secondary flaking, the other face, which is convex, being minutely flaked over the whole surface. The body had not been burnt on the spot where the bones were deposited.[a] Two feet north of the present but at what had probably been the original centre, 2 feet 9 inches beneath the surface of the

[a] This was the rule in regard to the interment of cremated bodies in these barrows, and, unless the contrary is specified, it must be considered as holding good in all the cases here recorded.

barrow and 6 feet above the original surface of the ground, was a "food-vessel" without any remains of a body accompanying it. There was nothing to show that there had ever been an interment at the place, but the nature of the soil was such as would tend, in connection with other agencies, to the decay of the bones. The vase is $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. It has had five unperforated ears, of which three still remain. The inside of the lip, which is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, has two bands of lines, arranged herring-bone fashion, and the outside of the vase has eight similar bands, which are carried over the ears, and, like those of the lip, made by a sharp-pointed instrument. Below is an encircling line of dots made by a round-ended tool. The ornamentation extends to a depth of $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches from the mouth, the remaining part being plain. Nearly five feet beneath the vase and placed on a small mound of chalk $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, was the body of an adult laid on the left side, with the head to E.S.E., the hands being up towards the face, in front of which was a very beautifully made flint knife (fig. 8) serrated at the edges, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $\frac{11}{16}$ inch wide. The body had been placed upon wood, which had also enclosed it at the sides, but did not cover it. Within the line of wood and one foot behind the head of the body was a "food-vessel" (fig. 9) $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, 6 inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{1}{3}$ inches at the bottom, and having seven unperforated ears. The lip of the rim, which is unusually flat, has had encircling lines of twisted thong impressions, but the surface is too much decayed to admit of the number being specified. The outside of the lip has four encircling lines, below which is a band of vertical lines, 1 inch deep. Beneath this band are eight somewhat irregular encircling lines, which over-

Fig. 8. Flint Knife from Bishop Burton, Yorks. $\frac{1}{1}$

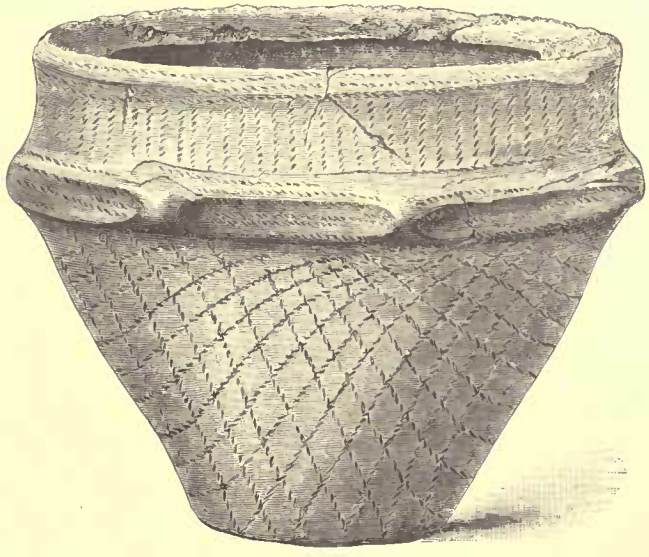


Fig. 9. "Food-vessel" from Bishop Burton, Yorks. $\frac{1}{2}$

run the ears. The remainder of the vase is covered with a small reticulated pattern. All the lines are due to impressions of twisted thong. At the bottom on the inside, for above an inch in height, the colour is lighter, due probably to the former presence of food once deposited in it. Immediately south of the small chalk mound was a hollow of irregular form, sunk partly into the chalk rock. It was 3 feet long and 2 feet wide at the south, and 1 foot at the north end, and 1 foot deep. Lying on the top, about the middle, was a human dorsal vertebra. It is probable that the chalk composing the small mound had been taken out of this hollow, which was filled in with earth.

Among the material of the barrow, not disturbed by the former opening, were a roughly-made scraper and some flakes of flint, and the bottom of a vessel of pottery.

CCLVI. This barrow is 50 feet in diameter and 3 feet high, but the ground on which it is placed was very irregular, so much so that at some parts the rock almost rose to the present surface of the mound. The height had also been much reduced by the plough. At a distance of 13 feet S.S.W. of the centre was a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult, laid in a round heap on the original surface. About 6 inches above the bones was a piece of hard-baked, red-coloured pottery, probably casually present, and having no connection with the burial. Eleven feet S.S.E. of the centre the chalk rose to nearly the surface of the barrow, and just east of it was the body of a child, laid on the original surface on the right side, with the head to W.S.W. Five feet E.S.E. of the centre were some fragments of a large cinerary urn, which had been destroyed by ploughing. The over-hanging rim is ornamented with a herring-bone pattern made by a sharp-pointed instrument. The bones of the burnt body which it had once contained were found lying close to it. At the centre the rock again rose almost to the surface of the barrow, and just to the west of it, where the ground dipped beneath the ordinary level of the ground and made a slight hollow, were the very much decayed bones of a body which had no doubt constituted the central and primary interment. With these remains was a flint knife which had been deposited with the body, but in what relative position, on account of the condition of the bones, it was impossible to determine. It is $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, having a portion of the surface of the flint nodule from which it was made still left on the convex side. It is a very well-fashioned implement. Among the material of the mound, scattered here and there, were several pieces of a "food-vessel" and of a "drinking-cup," with other potsherds, two round and one long scraper, and several flakes of flint, one of them worked at the edge.

CCLVII. This barrow, which in the upper part was made of yellow clayey soil and beneath of brown-coloured sandy soil, is 70 feet in diameter, and still, though much lowered by ploughing, as are all the barrows of the group, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Three feet S.S.W. of the centre, and three feet above the original surface, were the bones of the burnt body of an adult, deposited in a round heap, 10 inches in diameter, and on the top of them was a flint knife, unburnt. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, and has been made from a curved flake, carefully fashioned by chipping along both edges. Four feet S.S.E. of the centre, and 3 feet above the original surface, were the bones of a second burnt body, like the first those of an adult, and placed in a round heap. Close to the bones, but not connected with them, was a large piece of a "food-vessel," ornamented by encircling lines made by the impression of loosely-twisted and thick cord. At a distance of $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet W. by S. from the centre, and 3 feet 10 inches above the surface level, was a "food-vessel" (fig. 10) lying on its side. There was no appearance of a body ever having been buried at the place, but, as was the case in the first barrow, it is possible the

Fig. 10. "Food-vessel" from Bishop Burton, Yorks. $\frac{1}{2}$

bones may have entirely gone to decay. The vase, which is of beautiful form and well made, is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, 5 inches wide at the mouth, and 2 inches at the bottom, and has four perforated ears. The inside of the lip has three bands of lines, arranged herring-bone fashion, whilst the outside has a band of short vertical lines encircling it. Beneath is an encircling line, broken by short spaces, followed by five bands of short lines arranged herring-bone fashion. There is next a band of short vertical lines similar to that above, followed in a channel at the shoulder

by four encircling lines not continuous, similar to the single line above; they do not extend over the ears, which have four rows of short vertical lines upon them. Below this the vase is entirely covered by eleven bands of vertical lines, gradually increasing in depth as they approach the bottom. All the ornamentation has been made by a sharp-pointed tool. Four feet W. of the present centre, but, no doubt, representing the commencing point of the barrow, was a grave sunk 2 feet into the surface soil, here of more than ordinary depth. It had a direction W. by N. and E. by S., 6 feet long and 2 feet wide, and had been lined throughout with solid wood, but the body, that of an adult, had, apparently, been covered merely with branches. The bones had almost entirely gone to decay, but, judging from those left, the body seemed to have been laid with the head to the west and probably on the right side. Unless this had been the case, there was not room for the "food-vessel" found with the body being placed in front of the face, the most usual position, the head being deposited in immediate contact with the north side of the grave. Close to the vessel was a flint knife. The vase is rather roughly made, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches at the bottom. The flat top of the rim, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, has a zig-zag line upon it. On the outside a lozenge-pattern, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep, encircles the vase, with a single line beneath, then follows an irregularly formed lozenge pattern 1 inch deep, and below, as far as the bottom, are thirteen encircling lines. The whole of the ornamentation is due to the impression of twisted thong. The knife, which has lost a portion of its more pointed end, is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, flat on one face and rather roughly flaked over the other and convex face.

Among the material of the mound were many chippings of flint, the rounded end of a long scraper, a large and boldly-flaked knife of yellow flint, 4 inches long and 2 inches wide, and a single piece of a "drinking-cup."

CCLVIII. This barrow is 62 feet in diameter, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. A cutting, 4 feet wide, had been made on some previous occasion directly through the mound from north to south. In making this a burnt body, enclosed in a cinerary urn, had been discovered, the remains of the bones and of the broken vessel being found scattered among the filling-in of the cutting. At a point 7 feet S.E. of the centre and 6 inches above the surface level was part of a small "food-vessel," the remainder having been destroyed by the cutting just mentioned. The vase has been entirely covered with a herring-bone pattern, made by a sharp-pointed tool. At the centre was an oval grave, sunk into the surface soil to a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, having a direction W. by N. and E. by S., $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 2 feet wide at the top, and 1 foot 2 inches at the bottom, the west end being a little lower than the east.

At each end was a circular hole, 8 inches in diameter and the same in depth, excavated in the chalk, the object, apparently, being to keep the grave dry, as, from the nature of the surface soil, water was likely to accumulate in it. Probably for the same reason, as was also the case in the preceding barrow, the grave had been lined throughout with wood, apparently planks, those at the west end, where, as has already been stated, the grave was deeper, being laid upon branches. On this wooden flooring had been deposited the body of an adult, slightly contracted. It was placed on the right side, with the head to W. by N., the hands being in front of the chest. It had been covered with wood, but of a smaller size than that underneath the body. In front of the face, and almost touching the side of the grave, was a "food-vessel." At the east end of the grave was the tooth of an ox. The vase, which is of a good shape, is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches at the bottom, which is deeply cupped. It has five perforated ears. The inside of the lip, which is $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, has five encircling lines, made by the impression of twisted thong, and the outside has a band of short vertical lines between two horizontal ones. Below are three bands of lines, arranged herring-bone fashion. These are succeeded, in a channel at the shoulder, by two encircling lines between two rows of lines inclining in opposite directions, the ears having four short horizontal lines upon them. The rest of the vase is covered with twelve bands of lines arranged herring-bone fashion. All the ornamentation, except that of the inside of the lip, has been made with a sharp-pointed tool. Among the material of the mound were a round flint scraper and a roughly-formed knife, made from a slightly-curved flint flake, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches long and 1 inch wide. It may be mentioned that the wood at the bottom of the grave had been quite hardened by the action of oxide of iron. This is due not to the former presence of iron in a manufactured state, but to iron in a natural condition existing in the soil at the place.

CCLIX. CCLX. These two barrows, the first 68 feet in diameter and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, the other 86 feet in diameter and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, though not apparently having been disturbed before, were found to contain no interment, nor indeed any trace of one. They were both quite exhaustively examined. The first produced two round scrapers aud a roughly-formed saw of flint. In the second were found numerous flint flakes and cores, many potsherds, including portions of a "food-vessel," ornamented with bands of vertical lines between double encircling lines, one set of which is made with minute dots, the others being produced by impressions of finely-twisted thong.

The absence of any signs of a burial in these two mounds is very difficult to

account for. Under certain conditions bones are found to have gone entirely to decay, still in these mounds I should not, from the nature of the material composing them, have expected that all trace of bones would have disappeared. A similar absence of any indication of an interment having been made in a mound, apparently sepulchral, has already been noticed in this account (pp. 24, 25), and this peculiar circumstance has been there discussed.

CCLXI. This barrow is 45 feet in diameter and 2 feet high. At the centre was a circular grave sunk beneath the original surface to a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet; it was 2 feet in diameter at the top and 13 inches at the bottom. The lower part, to a height of 8 inches, was filled in with ordinary soil, above that it contained burnt earth, among which, widely scattered, were a few burnt bones. Over the top of the grave, and 1 foot above the original surface level, was a layer of burnt earth, which extended more than 4 feet to the north of the grave. Among this were some pieces of a cinerary urn ornamented with a reticulated pattern made by a sharp-pointed tool. This had all the appearance of having been the site of the funeral pile, though it might have been expected that the body would have been burnt on the natural surface, beneath which the grave had been excavated.

CCLXII. This barrow was about the same size as the last, but not quite so high. At the centre, and placed upon the natural surface of the ground, was a deposit of burnt bones scattered over a space 2 feet in diameter. Upon the bones at the east side was an "incense cup" (fig. 11), standing on its base. It is of depressed globular form, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, 2 inches wide at the mouth, and the same at the bottom, which is slightly cupped. The inside of the lip has a single encirling line, and the outside three similar lines with diagonal lines arranged herring-bone fashion between them. Beneath these is a plain band perforated by six holes at regular intervals, then follows a band of diagonal lines similar to that above, beneath which is a plain band having two encircling lines beneath and close to the bottom of the vessel. All the lines have been made by a sharp-pointed tool.

Fig. 11. "Incense-cup" from Bishop Burton, Yorks. $\frac{3}{4}$

Among the material of the mound were a core and two flakes of flint and some pieces of a "drinking-cup."

CCLXIII. This barrow is 42 feet in diameter and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. It contained a single burial, that of the burnt body of an adult, the bones of which were placed

in a hollow, lying N.W. and S.E., 2 feet by $1\frac{1}{4}$ foot and 8 inches deep. The body had been burnt on the spot, the hollow having been first excavated. The site of the funeral pile occupied a space 4 feet in diameter.

CCLXIV. The diameter of this barrow was scarcely to be ascertained, and it was not quite a foot high at any part. At what had no doubt originally been the centre was a hollow lying N. and S., $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ foot wide at the top and sloping to the bottom, which was $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot below the surface. The body had been burnt on the spot, and the site of the funeral pile, which lay E. and W., was $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 2 feet wide. The hollow which contained the bones had been made before the burning took place, and was situated at the east end of the site of the pile.

Among the material of the mound was a saw made from a curved flake of flint 2 inches long and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide.

CCLXV. This, one of the smaller barrows, was placed close to that first described. It is 44 feet in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet high. At a distance of 11 feet S. by W. from the centre, and 8 inches above the surface level of the ground, a cinerary urn was found in a reversed position, containing the burnt bones of an adult. The urn is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, the overhanging rim being $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, 10 inches wide at the mouth, and $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches at the bottom. The inside of the rim below the lip, which is plain, has three encircling bands of short lines placed diagonally. The outside of the rim has three similar bands. Below the rim are six bands of lines similar to those on the rim, which extend to a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the top of the urn, the remaining part is plain. All the lines have been made by impressions of twisted thong. At the centre was a grave lying N.W. by N. and S.E. by S., 7 feet long, 5 feet wide, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet deep. The north end appeared to have been lined at the sides with wood, which seemed to have been placed about 8 inches from the edge of the grave. In it was the body of an adult laid on the right side with the head to W.S.W. The right hand was up towards the face, in front of which was a flint knife, the left hand being on the hips. The knife is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide, and is carefully flaked over all the convex face. Lying just over the top of the grave were a flat oval piece of flint, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, chipped all round the edges, and a flint core.

The mode of burial in these barrows does not differ from the interments in the sepulchral mounds of the wolds. Burnt and unburnt bodies were met with, the proportion of burnt being rather larger than usual, nor is there anything to show that the one was earlier than the other. Bronze was not found, but for reasons stated in *British Barrows*, p. 46, it cannot be inferred from the absence of the

metal that it was then unknown. It will also be noticed that the rule of burying the body with the face fronting the sun is corroborated by the evidence these barrows afford. In four cases, where the position could be ascertained with certainty, the rule had been followed, and in the fifth, though the bones had gone to decay, the body could scarcely have been placed in any other than the position conjecturally attributed to it.

Parish of Gristhorpe, North Riding.

The opening of a barrow in this parish fifty-six years ago disclosed a remarkable interment of an unburnt body placed in a split and hollowed oak trunk. The skeleton and the various articles associated with it, together with the coffin in which they were found, are now preserved in the Scarborough Museum. A few years earlier another barrow a little to the north was examined, but without any record of what was met with having been preserved. I re-opened it in 1887, not being aware at the time of the previous examination.

CCLXVI. It is situated a short distance from the cliff, commanding a wide prospect of sea to the east, and of coast line to the north and south, which takes in Scarborough Castle and the moors of the North Riding on the one hand and the high ridge which ends with Filey Brigg on the other.

It is 80 feet in diameter, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ feet high, but has lost at least 2 feet on the top, having, though now in grass, been under the plough for many years. It was made entirely of earth. At a distance of 24 feet S.S.E. from the centre, with the bottom 1 foot above the original surface, was a small cist, N.W. by S.E., 16 inches long, 11 inches wide, and 10 inches deep. It was made of four side stones with a cover, and had a single stone on the bottom. In it was a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult, mixed with earth, with which the cist was filled. Among the bones were three pieces of burnt and one of unburnt flint. At the centre was a cist, lying N.W. and S.E., 4 feet 9 inches long, 2 feet 5 inches wide, and 1 foot 6 inches deep. It was made partly of large flat stones set on edge, with some smaller ones laid upon them. The cover had been broken by those who first opened the barrow, who had left some of the bones, those of a strongly-built man, in the cist, in which were pieces of charcoal, as is usual. The cist was sunk into the ground, the cover having been placed on the surface level.

Among the material of the mound were a knife and four round scrapers of flint, and a hammer stone made from a water-rolled quartzite pebble.

Parish of Fylingdales.

A reference to the Ordnance Survey map, one-inch scale, XCV. N.W., will show how abundant are barrows upon the moorland south of Whitby and between there and Scarborough. Other remains of probably the same period in the shape of circles and standing stones, dykes, and lines of entrenchment and enclosures are found throughout the district. Nearly all the barrows have been opened, and many of them in quite recent times, but no account of these examinations has been recorded, so far as I am aware, except a short notice of the opening of some on Cloughton Moor by the late Mr. Tissiman of Scarborough, in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. vi. p. 1.

CCLXVII. This sepulchral mound, if such it can properly be termed, is of quite novel form in my experience. It may be called a platform with a surrounding ditch. There was no appearance as if an ordinary shaped barrow had ever been placed on the site, and had been removed. On the contrary, with the exception that it had been dug into at the centre, every thing seemed to be in the same condition as when it had been first constructed on the moor, which still remains, untouched by cultivation, covered with ling, as it has done for many thousand years. It is raised 1½ foot above the ordinary surface level, and has a diameter of 60 feet, the enclosing trench being 4 feet wide and 2 feet deep. At the centre was an oval grave having a direction N.E and S.W., 5 feet long at the top, and 2 feet 6 inches at the bottom, by 4 feet wide at the top, and 2 feet 3 inches at the bottom, and 3 feet 6 inches deep. When I examined it the grave was filled in with stones, and there were some burnt bones on the bottom. It had certainly been previously opened, but the filling in at the time of the burial may have been made with the same stones as those replaced by the persons who had rifled it. The burial had been of a body after cremation, but if any urn or implement had been associated with the interment it had been removed.

CCLXVIII. This barrow is one of a considerable number which are scattered sometimes two or three together, at other times singly, over that part of Fylingdales Moor called Howdale, Stony Marl, and High Moors. Upon this tract of moorland there have been found a number of those remarkable stones, marked with central pits and concentric but incomplete circles, which, existing in several districts in England, Scotland, and Ireland, still remain shrouded in the same mystery, as regards their meaning, as when they were first discovered. Eight stones with these markings are preserved in the garden at Peak House, or, as it is now usually called, Raven Hall, some of which are said to have been taken out of neighbouring barrows.

The barrow is 18 feet in diameter and 2 feet high, and was made of sandy earth. At the centre was a square grave with rounded corners, 3 feet 10 inches square and 1 foot 8 inches deep. The body, the bones of which were found in the grave, had apparently been burnt within the grave itself, though it is difficult to understand how the fire was kept up in so confined a space. The bones, those of an adult, were scattered over the whole of the bottom of the grave, but principally near the south corner; they were covered by a layer of charcoal, in some places 9 inches thick, the remains of large tree trunks. Above the charcoal the grave was filled in with clay. Among the bones was a piece of calcined flint, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide.

CCLXIX. This, one of the three "Old Wife Houes," has a diameter of 43 feet and a height of 3 feet, with a flat top. It was made of sand, and has a circle of stones round the base. Four feet from this circle and within and covered by the mound was a second one, composed of smaller stones. It may originally have surrounded the base of a barrow, which having been subsequently added to, enclosed the circle within the present mound. At a distance of 14 feet S.S.E. from the centre and 1 foot 4 inches above the surface level of the ground was a circular burnt space, having a diameter of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At the same level and 12 feet S. by E. from the centre was a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult, much scattered and lying upon a layer of charcoal. The burnt bones were placed close to the west of the burnt spot, and it is probable that the one represented the site of the funeral pile, the other the bones collected from it. Twelve feet and a half south of the centre and again at the same level was a second deposit of burnt bones, also of an adult, placed in a round hollow 1 foot in diameter and 9 inches deep; the surrounding soil being much burnt. Among the bones were five pieces of calcined flint. The whole of the barrow at the level before mentioned showed abundant signs of fire. At the centre, in an oval hollow lying N. and S., 20 inches by 18 inches, and sunk to a depth of 14 inches beneath the natural surface, was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, placed at the bottom, but having much charcoal beneath them. The hollow, which was covered by a flat stone 2 feet 5 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, had been made before the burning of the body, which had no doubt taken place over it. It would seem, judging as well from the position of the two places of burial above the natural surface, as from the inner circle of stones, that a mound had been thrown up in the first instance over the grave containing the primary interment. Upon this mound, some time afterwards, two bodies had been burnt and the remains interred by the addition of fresh material, round which enlarged mound the outer circle of stones had been placed.

CCLXX. A structure which had every appearance of being sepulchral was exhaustively examined without any trace of an interment being discovered. It consisted of a circular space 40 feet in diameter inclosed by a mound made of stones and earth, 7 feet wide and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, having a doubtful opening through it on the west. At a distance of 4 feet S.E. by S. from the centre was a circle, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, of small stones set on edge and inclosing a space paved with flat stones, immediately beneath which was much burnt earth and four pieces of calcined flint. Three feet N.E. of the first was a second and similar circle, but only 3 feet in diameter. Two pieces of calcined flint were found at the southern part of the inclosure. I am quite unable to suggest any explanation of the purpose of this structure. The two small circles might be supposed to be the bases of huts, such foundations not being uncommon, and frequently having a defensive mound round them, but the size of them quite precludes such a supposition.

CCLXXI. This barrow is 60 feet in diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and was made of clayey soil with some stones near to the centre. At a distance of $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet S.W. by S. from that point, and 1 foot 4 inches above the original surface, were two cinerary urns, inverted and placed 3 inches apart. They were standing in a line N.W. and S.E., the larger one being to the N.W. One foot and a half S.W. of the space between them was a deposit of burnt bones in a circular hollow 9 inches in diameter, and sunk 8 inches deep below the surface of the ground. The body had been burnt on the spot, the hollow having been made before the burning had taken place. The space which had been occupied by the funeral pile was $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. The bones in the larger urn were those of an adult, probably a woman; and among them were twelve jet beads (fig. 12). The bones in the

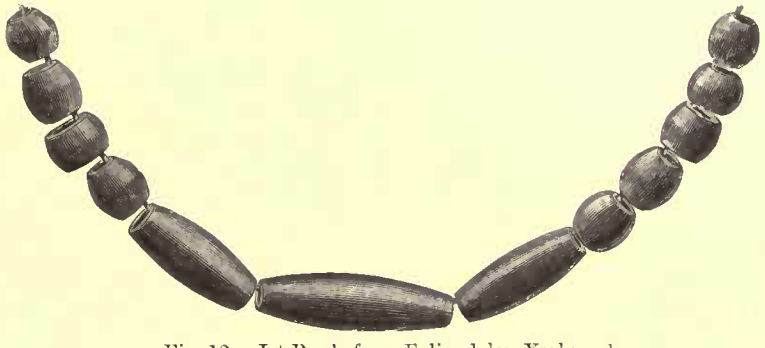


Fig. 12. Jet Beads from Fylingdales, Yorks. $\frac{1}{1}$

smaller urn, as well as those in the hollow, were of an adult. The larger urn, which is rudely made and quite plain, is 10 inches high (the overhanging rim is

of unusual proportions, being $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep), 8 inches wide at the mouth, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the bottom. The smaller urn, similar in make and want of ornamentation to the other, is 7 inches high (the overhanging rim being 3 inches deep), $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches at the bottom. The beads, which had formed a necklace, are, nine of them, of globular shape, a little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, and three fusiform, one just over 1 inch long, the others each $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long. At the centre was an oval grave, N.W. and S.E., 1 foot 7 inches long, 1 foot 3 inches wide, and 1 foot 2 inches deep. It contained the burnt bones of an adult, and lying upon them at the north side was an "incense-cup," reversed, and having some pieces of charcoal in it. On the bottom of the grave was a large quantity of charcoal. The body had been burnt on the spot, the grave having first been made. The "incense-cup" (fig. 13) is of globular form, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the middle, and 1 inch at the bottom, which is slightly cupped. The inside of the lip has three encircling lines, and the outside has two similar ones. Below is a band of triangles, alternately placed, each filled in with parallel diagonal lines; below are two encircling lines. All the pattern, which extends to the middle and widest part of the cup, has been made by a sharp-pointed tool. Two feet and a half to the south of the grave were some unburnt bones, including a human tooth. Among the material of the mound were two round scrapers, a portion of a flake, and several chippings of flint, all unburnt.

Fig. 13.
"Incense-cup" from Fylingdales, Yorks. $\frac{3}{4}$

The present barrow, like No. CCLXIX. suggests that it had been increased in size by placing secondary burials upon the surface of the original mound, which had been made over the primary interment in the grave, and covering them with additional soil.

CCLXXII. This barrow is 21 feet in diameter, but the original height could not be ascertained on account of the stones, of which it had been principally composed, having been almost entirely removed. It has a circle of stones round the base. At a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet S.W. of the centre was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, widely scattered on the original surface of the ground, and having among them a piece of calcined flint and three sherds of pottery. At the centre, in a hollow, lying N.W. and S.E., 2 feet long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot wide, and 9 inches deep, were the burnt bones of an adult. They were intermingled with

the soil filling in the hollow, and with them was a portion of a calcined flint flake.

CCLXXIII. This barrow is 40 feet in diameter, 2 feet high, and made of stones and earth. There were many evidences of fire throughout the whole of the mound, and a great quantity of charcoal. At the centre was an oval grave, lying W.N.W. and E.S.E., 2 feet 4 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches wide, and 1 foot 2 inches deep. Upon the bottom was a large quantity of charcoal, and above it the burnt bones of an adult. The grave had been made before the body was burnt, the funeral pile, the site of which occupied a space 5 feet in diameter, having been erected over it.

The burials in the barrows just described, as is the rule in this part of Yorkshire, were after cremation; the only exceptions being the few unburnt bones found in one of the barrows, No. CCLXXI., and these scarcely seemed to represent a regular interment. As might be expected in a district where the material is so abundant, jet was found, though only in one instance. At Peak House (Raven Hall) already mentioned, are preserved two jet studs, found in a barrow near to those I opened, and a jet ring from another barrow of the same group.

Parish of Lythe.

The district on the east of Cleveland to the north of Whitby is prolific in various remains of primitive occupation. Implements of flint and other stone have occurred in sufficient abundance, though bronze has not often been met with. Megalithic structures, at one time more frequent, have still to some extent survived the destructive operations of farming and building, though many are known to have disappeared within the memory of persons still living. Barrows have crowned most of the heights, though few have escaped the unintelligent and acquisitive hands of the curiosity hunter, who has left no record of the facts he might have observed, or the objects he procured. Of the very few which have not been completely ransacked, I examined two in the township of Goldsborough and parish of Lythe.

CCLXXIV. This barrow had been much ploughed down, and to some extent dug into, probably for the sake of the stones of which it was partly composed. It is 63 feet in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, and was made of earth and stones. At the centre was a cist, partly destroyed. The stones of which it was made were sunk to a depth of 9 inches beneath the original surface level. It had a direction

W.N.W. and E.S.E., and was 3 feet 9 inches long and 1 foot 3 inches deep, the width being uncertain on account of the absence of the stone or stones which had formed the south side; the covering stones had also been removed, the bottom consisted of the clayey subsoil. There were no bones left in it, but at the west end was a "food-vessel." The vase is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches at the bottom. The ornamentation has been made by the application of the corner of a square-ended implement, and by the pointed end of possibly the same tool. The pattern will be best understood by the figure engraved (fig. 14). Close to the vase was a small water-rolled pebble, and on the bottom of the cist were some pieces of jet, one piece of calcined flint, and many bits of charcoal. Two feet east of the cist was a circular hole, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in diameter and the same in depth, and 2 feet further east was a second hole of similar size and depth; they contained nothing besides earth.[a] At a distance of 12 feet E.N.E. from the cist, measuring from centre to centre, was a grave lying N.N.E. and S.S.W., 4 feet 3 inches long, 2 feet wide at the top, 1 foot 6 inches at the bottom, and 2 feet deep. It was sunk into the subsoil nearly to the depth of the slabs of stone with which it was lined; the covers had been removed. There was nothing left in it beyond soil, except a single piece of calcined flint and a few fragments of charcoal.

Fig. 14. "Food-vessel" from Lythe, Yorks. $\frac{1}{2}$

In the material of the barrow was much burnt earth and charcoal throughout the whole area. There were also found two round scrapers, one unburnt, the other burnt, and several chippings of flint, burnt and unburnt, also a square block

[a] Similar holes are not infrequent in barrows, and usually contain nothing beyond the filling in with the material of which the barrow itself is composed.

of sandstone, 9 inches by 8 inches and $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, having a pit hollow on each face and on one side; of these, two are $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and one $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the three being all $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep; they showed very distinctly the marks of the tool with which they had been made.[a] Besides these were a fusiform bead of jet, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long, and a pretty jet ring, which has an outer diameter of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch and an inner one of $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; the remains, doubtless, of ornaments associated with an interment, possibly made in the grave, and of which the rest had been carried off when the barrow was discovered either in ploughing or otherwise.

CCLXXV. Another barrow not far distant is 54 feet in diameter, 2 feet high, and was made of earth. At the centre, on the original surface of the ground, was a space, lying N.E. by N. and S.W. by S., about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 2 feet wide, which had been covered with wood, the bark being especially distinguishable. Upon this there can be little doubt that a body had been placed, the bones of which had disappeared through the action of various agencies during a long course of years.

Among the material of the mound were charcoal and some burnt stones, several burnt and unburnt pieces of flint, and a flint implement, unburnt, probably intended for a knife, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide.

WILTSHIRE.

Parish of Aldbourne.

That part of England in which the barrows about to be described are situated is extremely rich in evidences of occupation at different periods before the conquest of Britain by the Romans. Nor does the interest connected with it cease with these indications of habitation by the earlier people, for it was the scene of important events during the civil war of the seventeenth century, and tradition and the discovery of relics still point to places where these events occurred. A large portion of the land is high swelling downs, and though much of this has been brought under the plough, enough remains in its pristine condition to show what was the aspect of the country in days before agriculture had made much

[a] Stones with similar pit markings have occurred in barrows in many different localities. In one upon Wass Moor, North Riding, I found above twenty. See *British Barrows*, p. 342.

progress. A tract of land such as this afforded, in the absence of forest and in the dryness of the soil, as well as in the defensive nature of many places within its area, most of the requirements for early settlement. The sepulchral and other remains still existing within the district supply abundant proof that its advantages were not neglected. The great camps of Badbury and Uffington are within a few miles of the barrows about to be noticed, and in the adjoining parish of Lambourn is a very large number of grave mounds, including the group called the Seven Barrows, but which includes about twenty. Wayland Smith's Cave, made historic by the genius of Scott, is a burial-place of still earlier times than those when the ordinary round barrows were erected. It constitutes a passaged-chamber, once covered by a large mound, of which sufficient traces still remain to show its shape and size. The White Horse, to whatever date it may be assigned, can certainly claim to be of a remote antiquity; and though we may not be inclined to admit that Ashdown, in Lambourn parish, is the scene of Alfred's great victory at Aescesdun, which local enthusiasm would fondly hope to prove, enough of interest centres in the district to make it one of high importance to those who have regard to the ancient landmarks of our country and their teaching.

In the parish of Aldbourne, and especially upon the Warren Farm, are a number of barrows, all of which, in association with Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., I examined. The four to be first described, as well as three others, are situated upon a ridge of chalk, called, from the shape of the mounds, Sugar Hill Down; lying between two valleys, which converge about a mile to the south at the village of Aldbourne. The first four, situated on a piece of the downs which has never been cultivated, are placed so close to each other that the surrounding ditches of three of them are confluent, while that at the base of the fourth is but a few feet distant from that of the neighbouring barrow. They are placed in a direction N.N.W. and S.S.E., and, measuring from the outside of the first to the same point of the fourth, they extend over 472 feet. All of them are enclosed by an encircling ditch; and three stand upon what may be termed a platform, a space upon which no added material has been placed, and which lies between the ditch and the mound itself. With the exception of that to be first described, they had been, more or less, opened at the centre; in one case, even as far as to the bottom of a part of the central grave; but in no case had the primary interment been discovered.

CCLXXVI. This barrow, that the furthest to the north, of a beautiful bell-

shaped form, is 60 feet in diameter, and 11 feet high; the platform on which it stands being 16 feet wide, and the surrounding ditch 12 feet wide and 3 feet deep. The lower part of the mound was made up with almost unmixed earth, though there was a little chalk interspersed. This reached to a height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the original surface level. Laid upon this was a layer, about 9 inches thick, of dark coloured mould, the remains probably of what had originally been turfs; above this was a layer of the ordinary soil of the adjoining land, 10 inches thick, having above it a layer of chalk, in some parts quite unmixed, in others having a little earth among the chalk. It was thicker at some parts than at others, being sometimes quite 2 feet thick at the sides, but never above 8 inches thick at the middle. Above the chalk layer was earth with chalk intermixed, and clayey sand in irregular layers, and over all a covering of chalk about 3 feet thick. At the central part of the mound, and 6 feet above the original surface, was a bed of sarsen stones laid in a circular form, 4 feet in diameter. Immediately above this were two other similarly formed beds of stones, the highest one, much larger than those beneath, being 12 feet in diameter. Between the beds of stones was a layer of charcoal, and on the upper one a smaller quantity and somewhat scattered. The stones comprising the upper bed, for a space of 6 feet in diameter at the middle, showed abundant signs of fire. Four feet east of the centre, and 2 feet above the original surface, was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, laid in a round heap, 16 inches in diameter. At the centre, on the level of the natural surface and spread over a space of about 3 feet in diameter, were many burnt bones, and beyond them a large quantity of charcoal and wood ashes. Below this was a grave, lying N.W. and S.E., 1 foot 8 inches long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, and 2 feet deep. It contained the burnt body of an adult; and at the north side, where the bones of the skull were placed, was a small plain vessel of pottery. It is cylindrical-shaped, narrowing a little to the top, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide at the mouth, and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch at the bottom. Among the bones were seven amber beads and a small round flat piece of the same material, a bone pin with a perforated head, and a flint flake, both unburnt. The beads are five of them barrel-shaped, varying from $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in length, and two fusiform $\frac{3}{8}$ inch and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long. The pin, the point of which is wanting through decay, is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches long. Among the material of the mound, here and there were many bones[a] of ox and pig, an oval flint scraper, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide,

[a] In this as in all other cases, if not specified to the contrary, bones of animals must be understood to be in a broken condition, done designedly in order to extract the marrow.

several chippings of flint, and twelve pieces of pottery, among them part of the bottom of a "drinking-cup."

CCLXXVII. This barrow, whose surrounding ditch was in contact with that of the last, is 68 feet in diameter, and still 7 feet high. The platform on which it stands is 23 feet wide, and the ditch 8 feet wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. The mound was composed of earth, with chalk intermixed, and some sarsen stones. It had been completely gutted from the top, the opening having at one point gone down to the bottom of the grave; the interment, however, had not been discovered, on account of the grave having been only partially excavated. It was situated at the centre of the barrow, and had a direction N.W. by W. and S.E., by E. being 6 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet deep, sunk into the chalk rock. At the north-west end, and 1 foot above the bottom, was a bronze dagger (fig. 15), and at the middle and on the bottom were the much-decayed remains of a skeleton, in too imperfect a state to enable the position of the body to be ascertained; placed with the bones was a triangular-shaped arrow-point of flint, with a tang, $1\frac{1}{3}$ inch long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide. Also in the grave were some disturbed bones not belonging to the skeleton just mentioned. This, it is probable, was a secondary interment, during the course of which the previous occupant of the grave, with whose body the bronze dagger may have been associated, had been displaced. It is quite certain that the disturbance was not due to those who in recent times had opened the barrow, for the bones were beyond the limits of the excavation made by them. The bronze dagger is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, where the handle ended on the blade. It has three rivet holes, but no rivets, these having probably been made of wood or some other perishable substance. In the material of the mound was a large piece of a greenstone axe, much corroded, and a sherd of thick thong-marked pottery.

Fig. 15. Bronze Dagger from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{1}{1}$

CCLXXVIII. This barrow stands close to the south of the last, the ditch surrounding it uniting with that of the other. It is 70 feet in diameter and 12 feet high; the platform, which has had some additional soil laid upon it, causing it to slope towards the ditch, is 10 feet wide, the ditch being the same width and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. The barrow was made of earth and chalk intermixed, but with pure chalk here and there, principally on the west side. Unlike the other barrows, there

were no sarsen stones in it. The whole of the original surface beneath the mound was thickly strewn with charcoal and wood ashes. Immediately W.S.W. of the grave, to be presently mentioned, was a small mound of chalk, 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 9 inches and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, made no doubt of the material taken out of it. The grave itself was at the centre, and had an oval form, with a direction N.N.W. and S.S.E., 3 feet 4 inches long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches deep. It contained the burnt bones of an adult, among which was a bone pin, calcined, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, having a square head, perforated. Among the material of the mound were a saw, three round scrapers, two of them large, and numerous chippings of flint, also seven sherds of pottery, including a piece of a "drinking-cup," ornamented with parallel encircling lines of toothed impressions.

CCLXXIX. This, the last barrow of the four, and that the furthest to the south, was placed 32 feet from the last one, and a little out of the line towards the west. It is 82 feet in diameter, 12 feet high, with a ditch round it 8 feet wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. There was no platform, the mound rising from the edge of the ditch, but it is possible that it had originally stood upon a platform like the other three, but had been increased in size until it extended over the platform to the ditch. This process appears to have been partly carried out in the last-described barrow, where the platform had lost its flat surface by additional earth placed upon it. A small opening had at some time been made at the top of the barrow, which was carried down for a depth of four feet. When this opening was made a body had been discovered, part of the skull and some vertebrae being found among the earth thrown back again. The mound was made of earth, with some chalk and a few sarsen stones. Twenty-four feet south of the centre, and 2 feet below the surface of the barrow, was part of a skull. There were no other bones, nor did it appear that anything except this fragment of skull had ever been buried there. At the centre, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot above the surface level, were the bones of a young pig, and beneath them four sarsen stones placed on the top of the grave. This, which had somewhat of the form of an hour-glass, was N.W. and S.E., 4 feet long, 2 feet wide at the S.E. end, 1 foot 6 inches at the N.W. end, and 13 inches at the middle, being 1 foot 4 inches deep. It contained the burnt bones of an adult, placed at the middle of the grave, having a single piece of plain pottery close by them.

Among the material of the mound were several bones of ox, goat or sheep, and pig, and many flint chippings.

CCLXXX. This barrow, one of singular interest, was situated on the slope of the hill, about a hundred yards to the west of the four just described. It is 90 feet in diameter, and still, though much ploughed down, 6 feet high. If it once had a ditch surrounding it, all trace has disappeared. It was composed, with the exception of the cairn of stones, of earth, with some admixture of chalk and sarsen stones. The central part consisted of a pile of sarsen stones, without any soil among them, due probably to their having been originally covered over with turfs. Many of the stones showed by their red colour that they had been subjected to the action of fire. This cairn was 28 feet in diameter and 5 feet high. Beneath it at the centre was a space from which the turf had been removed down to the chalk rock, lying north and south, 4½ feet long and 3½ feet wide, and in it was a deposit of burnt bones, with which were associated a number of articles of various kinds. The bones were underlaid by wood and covered by a layer of charcoal and wood ashes, no doubt collected from the funeral pile. At the south end of the deposit of bones was an "incense-cup" and what seems to be its cover (fig. 16). When discovered the two vessels were found broken into numerous pieces and compacted together in a shapeless mass, the clay having become quite soft. This under the careful and skilful hands of Mr. Ready, of the British Museum, has resolved itself into the two beautiful and curious vessels which will be best understood from the figures. The cup is of a type which has already, though on rare occasions, been met with in Wiltshire and the immediately adjoining districts; but which, so far as I know, has not been discovered elsewhere.[a] It is well made, of fine paste, and delicately and tastefully ornamented. Like all the vessels of the same type, it has two small holes perforated at the foot, the purpose of which it is difficult to understand. The other vessel, which is of unique form, is of a somewhat enigmatical nature. It appears to have been used as a cover for the "incense-cup," though originally it may itself have been intended for a similar purpose. The two vessels, however, had been so intimately connected when placed with the interment that, as has already been stated, they formed when found a single mass. The cover is made of the same paste as the cup, but is of much thicker fabric, so much so as to make it doubtful if it can have been intended in the first instance to act as a cover for such a cup. It is ornamented in the same fashion, but has a round knob in place of the flat foot,

[a] Similar vessels are engraved in Hoare's *Ancient Wilts*, and in Thurnam's *Ancient British Barrows* (*Archaeologia*, vol. xliii. p. 363, figs. 44, 45; p. 364, fig. 46).

which is perforated as if for suspension.[a] Also among the burnt bones and close

A. B. C. D.

Fig. 16. "Incense-cup" and cover from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{2}{3}$

A. Incense-cup. B. Bottom of cup.
C. Cover of Incense-cup. D. Inside of cover.

[a] The paste of which most of these peculiar "incense-cups" are made, and which, in this instance, was common to the cup and cover, is different from any I have seen used in the manufacture of other sepulchral vessels. It is of a fine but soft nature, does not, when baked, produce a hard ware, and is of a dark chocolate colour. These qualities, taken in connection with the form of the vessels and the character of the ornamentation, and also with the limited area in which they have been found, appear to point to a common source of manufacture.

Dr. Thurnam, in *Archaeologia*, vol. xliii. p. 362, speaking of this class of vessel, says. "In taste and ornamentation they agree so closely with the drinking-cups, that the two species of fictile vessel may be regarded as the work of the same artificers." With this opinion I cannot agree; the two classes, both in fabric and ornamentation, as well as in the nature of the paste, appear to me to differ very materially, in fact in these particulars they have very little in common.

to the two vessels and to each other were some pieces of a small bronze knife, and of two bronze awls or prickers,[a] all much decayed and apparently having passed through the funeral fire. Still among the burnt bones were seven beads, once, no doubt, forming a necklace. Three are of vitreous paste of a whitish-green colour, narrow and ribbed;[b] two being each $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, the third $\frac{1}{4}$ inch; two are of amber, one barrel-shaped, the other fusiform; the sixth, barrel-shaped, is made of lignite, possibly from Bovey Tracy; and the seventh, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, is formed from a portion of the stem of an encrinite (*Apiocrinus Parkinsoni*). Close by the beads were a large flat ring of lignite (fig. 17) $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide at the outer circumference and 1 inch at the inner; a pendant ornament of the same material (fig. 18); a conical button $\frac{7}{8}$ inch diameter, perforated at the back for attach-

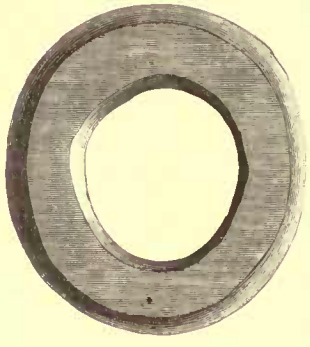


Fig. 17. Lignite Ring from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{1}{1}$

Fig. 18. Lignite Pendant from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{1}{1}$

ment, made of a material like Kimmeridge shale; a cast of a cardium shell; and a small polished black pebble of hematite. The two last articles have a very glossy surface, and look as if they had been kept about the person as objects of curiosity and value, and after death buried with their owner. Among the bones was a single flint chip, unburnt. Beyond the north end of the bared space above mentioned, and 6 inches from the outside of it, was a second "incense-cup" (fig. 19) with a few scattered burnt bones. The vessel is of the same form as the first, and like it has two perforations at the foot; the ornamentation also is similar, but neither is the paste so fine nor the fabric so good. It is 2 inches high, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches at the bottom of the foot.

[a] Similar implements are engraved in *British Barrows*, fig. 39, 40.

[b] Similar beads are engraved, Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, pls. iii. xii. Thurnam, *Archaeologia*, vol. xliii. figs. 186, 187, 188.

There is one particular in which it is of much interest, and which has not hitherto, I believe, been observed in pottery from a British barrow. The impressions forming the pattern, and which have been made by a sharp-pointed tool, probably a bronze pricker, have been filled in with some white material like finely powdered chalk applied when in a semi-liquid state.[a] This white material was certainly not the result of the vessel being in contact with chalk, for the surrounding earth was very dark coloured and without any admixture of chalk whatever.

Fig. 19. "Incense-cup" from Aldbourne, Wilts. ⅔

Among the ashes covering the bones were six flint flakes, unburnt, and among the sarsen stones were many bones of ox and pig, some ox teeth, two arrow-points, one a barbed one, imperfect and unburnt, the other triangular and partially calcined, and the end of a boar's tusk, which showed signs of having been fashioned. In the earth above the cairn of stones were nine sherds of pottery, including two pieces, thong-marked, of large vessels, and a fragment of a "drinking-cup," with toothed impressions, filled in with white matter like that of the "incense-cup," and some flakes and chippings of flint, all unburnt.

CCLXXXI. The two barrows now to be described were situated nearly half a mile apart, on the same ridge of uncultivated down on which the group of four, above described, was placed, but a mile to the north of it. The first is 60 feet in diameter, and 7½ feet high, having a ditch round it at the base, 6 feet wide and 2 feet deep. It was composed of earth and chalk, and among the material forming the lower part of the barrow was a large amount of charcoal, burnt earth, and

[a] I have observed the same feature in pottery from Laibach, Carniola, and Jablowski, district of Swiec, Poland, exhibited in the Salle d'Anthropologie at the Paris Exhibition, 1878; from Alambra, Cyprus, (Cesnola, p. 94); on vessels and spindle-whorls from Hissarlik, and on spindle-whorls from aneient graves near Bogota, United States of Colombia.

some pieces of burnt stone. The presence of the charcoal, burnt earth, and stone is probably due to its having been taken from the site of the funeral pile, where the surface soil would be affected by the fire, and coming first to hand would naturally form the bottom part of the mound. At the centre in an oval grave, W.N.W. by E.S.E., 2 feet 2 inches long, 1 foot 10 inches wide, and 1 foot 4 inches deep, was a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult, having among them an unburnt flint flake.

Among the material of the barrow were some ox bones and flint chippings.

CCLXXXII. This barrow, which proved to be, like the last but one, of much interest, had been placed upon a rounded swell of the down, which rose about 5 feet above the ordinary level. The diameter of the artificial part was 60 feet, that of the whole mound being 80 feet, with a surrounding ditch at its base, 8 feet wide and 3 feet deep. The barrow itself was 8 feet high, and was composed, with the exception of the cairn to be presently described, of chalk, which extended from the top to a depth of above 2 feet, and below that of earth with some chalk. Commencing at a point 6 feet north-west of the centre, and extending over that part and for 7 feet down the slope on the south-east side, and 2 feet below the surface of the mound, was a quantity of burnt matter, charcoal, earth, and flints. Immediately beneath this the summit of a pile of sarsen stones made its appearance, which was 12 feet in diameter, and 5 feet 9 inches high. Outside the limits of the cairn the original surface was thickly strewed with charcoal, but as the underlying soil showed no signs of having been subjected to the action of fire, the site of the funeral pile could not have been there. This cairn, as was the case in that before mentioned, had no mixture of earth among the stones, which were quite free from soil, and presented, when completely uncovered, a very striking appearance; some of the stones were of large size, one being as much as 2 feet 9 inches long. Beneath the cairn at the centre was a grave, lying N. by W. and S. by E., 3 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot 7 inches deep. A foot below the top of the grave were ten small sarsen stones, which covered a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult. They were placed at the north side of the grave, and upon them were laid a bronze knife and a bone pin. The knife, which is very thin, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. It has had two rivets, one of which, together with a small portion of the handle plate, was wanting when found. The handle has ended in a straight line upon the blade, and not in the ordinary lunar-shaped form. The pin, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, which is stained of a beautiful green colour from the oxidation of the knife, is unburnt.

Among the material of the barrow were a fragment of, apparently, a cinerary

urn, marked with lines of impressions of twisted thong, and numerous flakes and chippings of flint, all unburnt.

The next three barrows were situated on the high uncultivated down on the opposite side of the valley, and about a mile to the west of the four first described; a fourth was on the slope of the hill $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile north-east of the group of three.

CCLXXXIII. This barrow, which was 62 feet in diameter, and 8 feet high, stood on a platform 16 feet wide, surrounded by a ditch 12 feet wide and 3 feet deep. It was made of very soft earth with a little chalk, the result, probably, of portions of the underlying rock coming away with the turfs, of which the mound appeared to have been almost entirely composed. At the centre was a grave of an oval form, the sides of which sloped, making a dished hollow. It lay W. by S. and E. by N., and was 3 feet 2 inches long, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot 2 inches deep. In it at the west end was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, among which was a bone pin, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, calcined, of uncommon form (fig. 20).[a] Also among the bones was the point of another pin, and at the east end of the grave in the very fine soil which filled it at that part, a fragment of what may have once been a barbed arrow-point of flint, unburnt.

Fig. 20
Bone Pin from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{1}{1}$

Among the material of the barrow were five scrapers of flint, unburnt, and a burnt one, many flakes and chippings of unburnt flint, and three pieces of pottery.

CCLXXXIV. The next two barrows, which stood so close together that they touched each other, were situated 200 yards south of the last. The first, that furthest to the west, is 64 feet in diameter, 8 feet high, and was made of earth with a good deal of chalk, especially on the west side. At the centre was a grave, which was covered by a domical mound of chalk, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter and 1 foot high. It extended beyond the grave on the east side, and had been excavated from the rock in making the grave. To the west of the grave, and occupying a space 6 feet in diameter, the surface soil was much discoloured by the action of fire and was covered with wood ashes, having doubtless been the site of the funeral pile. The grave was circular, 1 foot 9 inches in diameter, 1 foot 8 inches deep, and contained the burnt bones of an adult man placed on the west side and

[a] Dr. Thurnam engraves two pins in his paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. xliii. p. 433, figs. 126, 127, which, though somewhat resembling this, are of very inferior make.

about midway in the grave. Among the bones and near the top of them were a bone pin with a perforated head, now $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch long, but which has lost a portion at the pointed end, a bone article of uncertain use, 2 inches long,[a] probably a dress fastener (fig. 21), both unburnt, and a wrist-guard (fig. 22), which, with a pendant (fig. 23) found near the bottom of the deposit of bones, had both passed through

Fig. 21.
Bone Dress Fastener from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{1}{1}$

Fig. 22.
Wrist-guard from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{1}{1}$

Fig. 23.
Pendant from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{1}{1}$

the funeral fire. The wrist-guard, of fine-grained stone, has probably when first made been twice its present length, and after being broken has been re-worked at one end. Two holes for fastening it have been drilled from each side, a third has been commenced at the newly-fashioned end, whilst the fourth has not been begun. It is $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide. The pendant, of the same stone as the guard, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide.

Among the material of the mound were some bones of ox.

CCLXXXV. The adjoining barrow is 50 feet in diameter, 2 feet high, and was made entirely of earth. At the centre was a circular grave, 2 feet 7 inches in diameter and 1 foot 2 inches deep, which contained the burnt bones of an adult. On the top of the bones was placed an "incense-cup," reversed, and among them were a few pieces of a beautiful vessel of similar paste, form, and ornamentation to that found in a preceding barrow (CCLXXX.). It could not have been when

[a] Similar articles are engraved in Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, pl. ix.; and Thurnam, *Archaeologia*, vol. xliii. p. 440, fig. 139.

deposited a perfect vessel. Also among the burnt bones were thirteen beads (fig. 24); ten barrel-shaped, of bone; one the same shape, of shell; one fusiform,

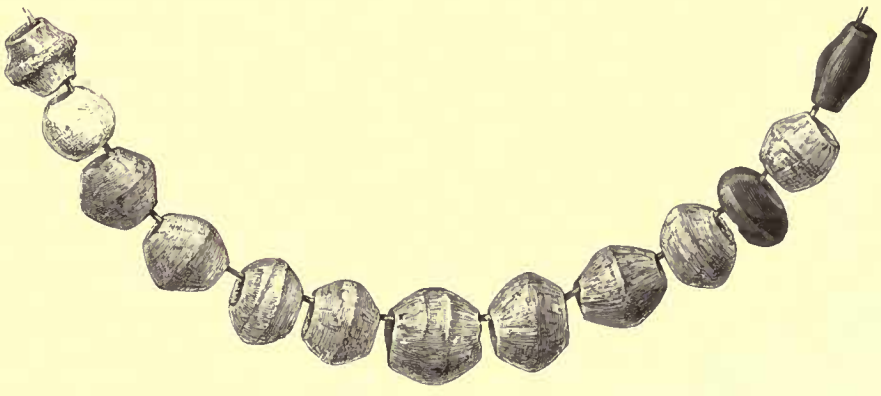


Fig. 24. Beads from Aldbourne, Wilts. ½

of jet; and one flat, of lignite; constituting the necklace of the buried person, probably a female. The "incense-cup," which is of globular form, is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, 3 inches at the middle, and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch at the bottom. The ornamentation, which covers the whole vessel, and is made by impressions of twisted thong, consists of an encircling zigzag line, having beneath it two bands of lines arranged herring-bone fashion.

CCLXXXVI. This barrow, situated about a mile to the north-west of the last and on the slope of the hill, is 80 feet in diameter and still, though much ploughed down, 7 feet high. It was formed principally of earth with a little chalk intermixed, and had originally been covered with chalk, some remains of which were left on the sides. There were also some indications that it had been once surrounded by a ditch. At the centre in a grave, lying W.N.W. and E.S.E., 3 feet 3 inches long, 2 feet 7 inches wide, and 1 foot 4 inches deep, were the burnt bones of an adult. They had been inclosed, except on the top, by wood, and between the wood and the side of the grave, a space, about 8 inches wide, was filled with wood ashes and charcoal. On the top of the bones was laid a bronze knife, which has two rivet-holes but no rivets in them; it is 3 inches long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide at the place where the handle finishes on the blade.

Among the material of the mound were one long scraper, two round ones, a large flake and some smaller ones of flint, all unburnt.

Parish of Hinton.

CCLXXXVII. This barrow, the only one on Hinton Down, is 68 feet in diameter and $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The outer part of the mound was chalk, beneath

which was brown-coloured earth with some chalk among it, overlying a layer, 12 inches thick, of dark-coloured mould, which rested on the original surface of the ground. The barrow had the appearance as if a space of the surface had been pared, and the turfs thus procured then laid down to form the bottom part of the mound, upon which had been placed earth taken from beneath the turf, having over all chalk taken from a still lower level. Three feet west of the centre, and 2 feet beneath the surface of the barrow, the body of an adult male Saxon was discovered, laid on the back at full length, with the head to south, the arms being placed alongside the body. On the left side and close to the head was an iron spear-head, with the point upwards. At the centre, in an oval grave, N.W. and S.E., 3 feet 4 inches long, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot deep, were the burnt bones of an adult. They were deposited at the middle of the grave, on the bottom; and on the top of them, at the S.E. side, was a bronze dagger (fig. 25), which had, apparently, been placed there in a wooden sheath. It is 4 inches long, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide where the handle in lunar form joins the blade, and has two rivets in the blade. Another rivet had fastened the two plates of the handle, which had, apparently, been of ox horn. All round the grave on the original surface was a quantity of charcoal, the remains of large branches of trees.

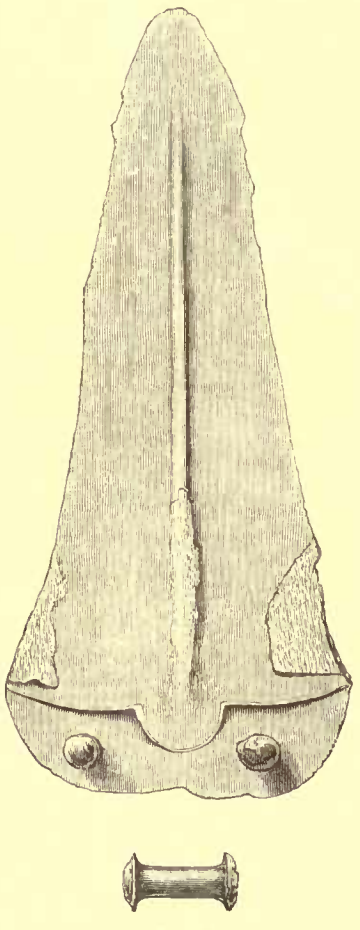


Fig. 25.
Bronze Dagger from Hinton, Wilts. $\frac{1}{4}$

There are some important features in the barrows of this part of England, and which are illustrated by those just described, in which they differ materially from the barrows of the Yorkshire wolds, a district corresponding in many respects to the downs of Wiltshire, as also they do from the burial mounds in other parts of England. One feature in which they differ is not easy to account for. In the Wiltshire barrows, though many of them are of a large size, it is the rule to find only a single interment, a central one, and usually of a burnt body in a small grave. In the barrows of the Yorkshire wolds, on the contrary, the rule is to find several interments in a barrow, though this does not hold good in every case,

as also the converse does not in Wiltshire. Indeed, in several instances, in the larger and more conical-shaped barrows of the wolds, corresponding in this respect to those in Wiltshire, it is frequently found that only a single burial has taken place. Still, in spite of these exceptions, it may be said that, as a rule, the wold barrows contain many, the down barrows few interments.

Another important feature in which the Wiltshire barrows differ from those of the wolds and other parts of Britain is the comparative abundance of gold, which has hitherto been only found once on the wolds, and then merely in the shape of the plated rivet-heads of a wrist-guard, and rarely in other districts. In Wiltshire it has been met with in many of the sepulchral mounds, and, in some instances, as decorative articles of considerable size. The presence of amber is another proof of the greater wealth of the people of the Wiltshire downs than of those of the wolds, where, however, it might have been expected to have been in use, as it is found, and not unfrequently, on the adjoining sea-shore. Glass, though not quite wanting in Yorkshire, has only occurred once; but, in Wiltshire, as, for instance, in the barrow No. CCLXXX. beads of that material have on several occasions been associated with an interment. Weapons and implements of bronze, which accompany burials throughout the whole of Britain, are found in Wiltshire in much more abundance and of a larger size than in most other districts, though in form and other features they are almost identical. It is also a remarkable fact that while the other classes of sepulchral vessels of pottery are found equally abundant in the barrows of both counties, the "food-vessel," so common in Yorkshire and elsewhere, is entirely wanting in Wiltshire.

BERKSHIRE.

Parish of Lambourn.

On the extreme limits of the parish of Lambourn, adjoining to that of Letcomb Bassett, are two barrows, situated close to each other, and within 300 yards to the S.E. of two others in the latter parish, all of which I opened.

CCLXXXVIII. The first one in Lambourn parish is 50 feet in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, having lost something of its height by cultivation. It had, originally, like the adjoining one, been surrounded at the base by a ditch, evident remains of

which still remained. It was made of chalk and earth. It proved to be a very enigmatical mound, and one which I cannot explain except upon the theory that such memorials, as cenotaphs, were erected in those early times. There was no appearance as if it had been previously opened, except to a very trifling extent. At the centre was a circular hollow, 4 feet in diameter, and sunk into the chalk rock to a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It was filled in principally with chalk, having here and there a little earth, and from the way in which the chalk was placed in regular layers overlying the earth, it appeared impossible it could have ever been disturbed since it was first filled in. There was, however, no trace of a body, either burnt or unburnt, having been deposited in it, though the nature of the material with which it was filled was of such a kind as generally tends to the preservation of bone, and, moreover, two pieces of animal bone found in it were in a perfectly sound condition.

Among the material of the mound were some bones of ox and potsherds of the ordinary kind.

CCLXXXIX. This barrow, which stood so near to the east of the last that its surrounding ditch almost touched that of the other, is 62 feet in diameter and still 5 feet high. It consisted principally of earth with a little chalk. Six feet E. by S. of the centre, and one foot above the original surface, was a circular hole,10 inches in diameter and 6 inches deep, entirely filled with charcoal. Around the centre the ground surface was covered for a space above four feet square with charcoal and wood ashes, and, though the soil was not reddened, I think it probable that this was the site of the funeral pile. At the centre was an oval grave, lying N.E. and S.W., $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 9 inches deep. In it were placed the burnt bones of an adult man, and upon them were laid side by side two perforated hammers, the one of stone (fig. 26), the other made from the shed antler of a red deer (fig. 27), having part of the burr still left, but with the outer parts removed over the whole surface; they showed no signs of having passed

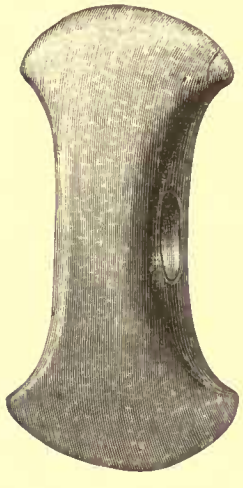


Fig. 26.
Stone Hammer from Lambourn, Berks. $\frac{2}{3}$

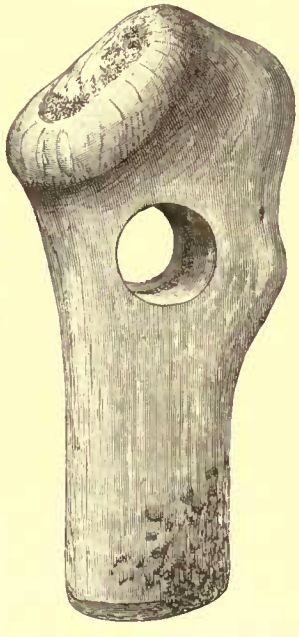


Fig. 27.
Deer's Horn Hammer from Lambourn, Berks. $\frac{2}{3}$

through the funeral fire. The stone hammer is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, that of deer's horn $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches long. Still upon the bones was an "incense-cup," perforated near the top with six small holes in pairs. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, and has a rounded bottom. It is ornamented on the flat top of the rim by two encircling zig-zag lines, and on the widest part of the vessel by a similar line, made like those on the rim by a sharp-pointed instrument. At the side of the deposit of bones on the N.W. and touching them was a bronze knife. It is $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, and has a tang for insertion into a handle, 1 inch long. Upon the original surface, 4 feet south of the centre, and quite unconnected with an interment, was a small vessel of pottery, not quite perfect, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch at the bottom. It is ornamented over the whole surface with vertical lines of dots.

In the material of the mound were found, a very sharp pointed pin, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inch long, made from the leg-bone of a bird, some bones of ox, and several potsherds of the ordinary kind.

The conjunction of two hammers of different material is an unusual occurrence, and to whatever use that of horn had been applied, that of stone can only be considered as a weapon of war, for which purpose it is well adapted. Implements of stone and bronze have not unfrequently been met with connected with the same burial, showing the concurrent use of the two materials, still every additional instance is of value as evidence of the fact.

Parish of Letcomb Bassett.

CCXC. This barrow was much ploughed down, and its area had probably been increased in consequence; it is now 100 feet in diameter, 5 feet high, and was made of earth with some chalk. It had been extensively used by badgers, two of whose skeletons were discovered, and to their burrowing is to be attributed the disturbed condition of some burnt bones found near the centre, on the original surface. The bones were much scattered, and with them was a well-shaped barbed arrow-point of flint, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long, which possibly had originally been associated with this cremated interment. Around the centre some charcoal and wood ashes were found on the surface level, but it is doubtful if that was the site of the funeral pile. At the centre was a circular grave sunk into the chalk rock to a depth of 2 feet 3 inches; it was 1 foot 2 inches wide at the top and gradually narrowed to a width of 9 inches at the bottom. The upper part was filled in with earth and chalk for a depth of 9 inches, and below that was pure chalk covering

the bones, which were beautifully white and quite free from any admixture of charcoal or other matter. They are those of an adult. Nine feet south of the centre, on the original surface and extending over above three feet, was a layer of dark-coloured unctuous soil, in which were many bones of ox and pig.

In the material of the mound were some ox bones and three potsherds.

CCXCI. Fifty feet east of the last was a smaller barrow, 48 feet in diameter and only 9 inches high. It had been either designedly opened on some previous occasion, or the burials had been discovered when the mound was ploughed. Both burnt and unburnt bones were found near the centre, laid there without any order, after they had, apparently, been moved from the place of their original deposit. There was no grave.

Some bones of ox and pieces of pottery were met with among the material of the mound.

Parish of Childrey.

CCXCII. This barrow is placed on the verge of the chalk escarpment overlooking the Vale of the White Horse, about 50 yards to the N.E. of the Ridgeway and between the two great earthworks of Uffington and Letcomb Castles. The position it occupies is a very prominent one, and the view seen from it is varied and extensive. The eye passes over a rich and well-wooded champaign country, with church towers and spires rising from amongst the trees, which mark the sites of numerous villages, until it rests in the far distance on the Oxfordshire hills, there bounding the landscape. The parishes are long and narrow, the church and houses placed near the foot of the hill, where the springs take their rise, and the outlying parts stretching on one side into the flat land of the valley, and on the other on to the upland of the down. A corresponding arrangement of the parish is found in similar districts in Sussex and Yorkshire. Each settlement of Saxon or Angle had in this way the necessary requirements of water, wood, and dry pasture within its own borders, as well as the better soil, where were collected together the tofts and crofts of the village, and the common field and meadow. Nor is it improbable that some at least of the present villages represent the sites where the older people, who created the barrows, had their habitations, for it is difficult to regard the strongly constructed earthworks on the downs as more than places of temporary resort in times of danger and attack. Their distance from water and the difficulty of providing it would in itself render them quite unsuitable for ordinary and peaceful occupation.

The barrow is 94 feet in diameter, and, though much ploughed down, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. It was made of earth and chalk. At a distance of 6 feet S.E. by E. from the centre was a large sarsen stone, laid about 8 inches above the original surface, and beneath it was a smaller one. The larger stone was 3 feet by 2 feet and 3 feet thick, the smaller 13 inches by 7 inches and 6 inches thick. Extending for about 3 feet in all directions from the centre, the original surface was covered with charcoal, with, here and there, a few pieces of burnt bone. There was no reddening of the soil, which is the usual result of a fire having been kindled upon it; but, nevertheless, I incline to think this was the site of the funeral pile. At the centre was an oval grave, N.N.E. and S.S.W., 2 feet 8 inches long, 2 feet 3 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches deep, over which was a covering of chalk stones, about 8 inches thick. The grave was almost entirely filled with charcoal, among which, but not laid together, were some burnt bones, the remains of the person in whose memory the barrow had been thrown up, and to which it is probable the other bones, found scattered on the surface round the centre, also belonged. It is rare to find so few of the bones remaining, where, as in this case, the burning had not been excessive; nor do I remember ever to have seen a grave so entirely filled in with charcoal as this one was.

In the material of the barrow were found a round, roughly-flaked, scraper and a flint arrow-point, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, triangular in shape, with the base hollowed, a form rarely met with in England though, perhaps, the commonest one in Ireland.

The interment in this barrow is an instance of the infinite variety, within certain limits, which is found in connection with the burials of these people. Some barrows are large, others small; some contain a single burial, others several. One barrow is high and pointed, another is flat. One has a ditch round the base, and sometimes within it, another close by has no such surrounding. One has a circle of stones encircling it, or within it, another where suitable stone is equally abundant has no circle either without or within the mound. One barrow is made entirely of chalk, another adjoining is made of earth, while a third is composed of earth and chalk. One barrow has among the material of which it is made numerous fragments of pottery, or implements and chippings of flint and other stone; another, all other circumstances being the same, has nothing of the kind. Again, one barrow is full of broken animal bones, while its neighbour has not a single bone in it. Barrows are frequently found in groups, but as frequently a single one occurs. As a rule they are placed on high ground, but not unfrequently they are in low situations. The way in which the body has been interred is

equally varied. Sometimes, whether of man, woman, or child, it has been buried, unburnt, by inhumation; at other times it has been burnt. Sometimes the burnt bones are enclosed in an urn; at other times in a grave or cist, or simply placed in the ground; and, on some occasions, in an urn itself placed within a grave or cist. Sometimes the burnt bones occur without any admixture of charcoal or earth; at other times, as in this instance, among charcoal or earth. Sometimes they are placed together in a small heap, at other times scattered, and that over an area of several feet. Sometimes a weapon, implement, or ornament has passed through the funeral fire with the body of its owner; but again, on the other hand, the same things are associated with a burnt body but have not themselves been burnt. At one time a bone pin or other dress fastener seems to have been in use on the body when it was placed on the pile; at another time a similar article is found unburnt among the burnt bones, and must have been put there after they were collected from the place of burning. The same variety exists where the body has been interred without having been burnt. Sometimes the body has been laid on the right side, at other times on the left. The head also is found pointing to almost every point of the compass. The hands are found up to the face, in front of the chest, stretched out from the body, laid under the head, on the hips, or down the side. The body is almost universally laid on the side in a contracted position, but the measure of the contraction is very different. Sometimes various articles have been buried with the body, burnt or unburnt; but more frequently nothing appears to have been placed in the grave associated with the body. A common accompaniment of burnt and unburnt bodies is a vessel of pottery, but it is quite as common not to find one. With one body remains of food are found, with another there is no sign of such provision having been made. Though generally burnt and unburnt bodies are not found associated, yet sometimes it is certain that they have been buried together, and at the same time. But, indeed, so varied are the circumstances attending interments, that it would be scarcely wrong to say that no two burials are in every respect alike.

CCXCIII. This barrow, situated about a mile S.W. of the last, was much ploughed down and had also been previously opened. It is 50 feet in diameter, and now only 9 inches high. It was made of earth and chalk, and, apparently, had originally had a surrounding ditch. At the centre was a grave, N.E. and S.W., 2 feet 9 inches long, 1 foot 9 inches wide, and 1 foot 10 inches deep, having, at the south-west end a circular hole, 1 foot 8 inches wide, sunk into the chalk to a depth of one foot below the bottom of the grave. The grave had, no doubt, contained the cinerary urn, the remains of which, with the burnt bones it had

once contained, were found scattered over a space about 4 feet square. A single round bead of lignite, one of a necklace, the rest of which had been carried off by those who first dug into the mound, was found at the same place as the bones. The urn (fig. 28) is $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 1 foot wide at the mouth, and swells towards the middle, decreasing to $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the bottom. The overhanging rim, which is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, has on the inside of the lip four encircling lines of twisted thong impressions, and on the outside three similar lines, beneath which is a band of triangles, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep, alternately placed, each filled in with parallel diagonal lines; beneath are two encircling lines and then a band of triangles, similar to that above, but $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep; below are three encircling lines; the rest of the urn is plain.

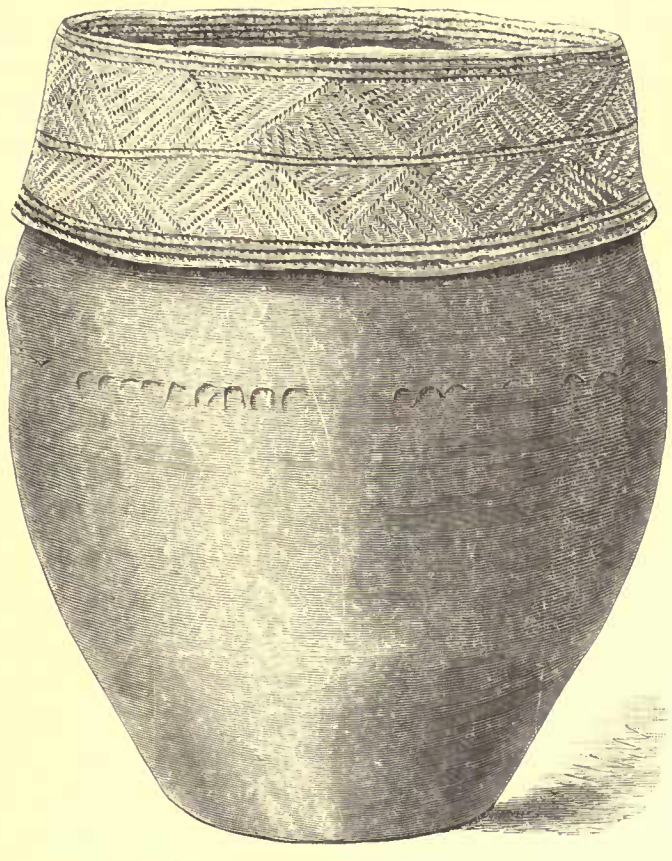


Fig. 28. Cinerary Urn from Childrey, Berks. ¼

Parish of Brimpton.

CCXCIV. CCXCV. On a piece of ground which has never been under cultivation, and which is situated in a district sterile and little adapted for any process of agriculture, are six mounds, five near to each other, the sixth being about a quarter of a mile away. They have every appearance of being sepulchral, so far as the exterior is concerned. They vary in size, the largest being 90 feet in diameter and 7 feet high, the others somewhat smaller; they were composed of gravelly sand. They are not conical, as is usual in barrows of their

dimension, but flat on the top. Some have a surrounding ditch at the base. I quite exhaustively examined two, the largest being one, without finding the slightest trace of an interment or any indication that they had been intended for places of sepulture, which on the whole I am inclined to think they were not. It is not impossible they may have been defensive, but though the flat top leads itself to such an explanation of their purpose, I cannot say that I regard it as probable.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Parish of Warkworth.

CCXCVI. The valley of the Coquet, from its source to where it flows into the sea, a few miles below the grand medieval castle of the Percies at Warkworth, abounds with varied remains of its early occupants, among which places of sepulture are not unfrequent. A short distance from the burial mound of which I am about to give an account, a cist containing a skeleton, with which a "drinking-cup" was associated, was discovered in 1858, on the banks of the river Coquet, a short distance from its mouth.[a]

Immediately south of the river's mouth, on the sea-coast opposite Coquet Island, in quarrying the sandstone rock in 1883, a sepulchral cairn was met with which contained a large number of burials, both of unburnt and of burnt bodies. It was only after the greater part had been removed that I was made acquainted with the discovery, but I had then, through the obliging kindness of Messrs. Green and Douglas, to whom the quarry belonged, an opportunity of examining that portion which still remained intact, and I also obtained from the workmen a fairly accurate account of what they had met with and observed. I am, therefore, able to give a description, necessarily incomplete, of what had been a very interesting sepulchral mound.

It consisted of a cairn, made of cobble stones from the neighbouring sea-beach, placed upon a thin layer of vegetable mould with clayey soil beneath, overlying the rock. The cairn had been about 40 feet in diameter, and 5 feet high. It was situated on the low bank there bounding the sea-beach, about 70 yards from its edge, and was entirely concealed under a deposit of blown sand, 9 feet thick, and therefore rising 4 feet above the top of the cairn. Though when discovered it was but a short distance from the sea, it is evident that when first erected it must have been much further distant, so far indeed as to be beyond the limit of

[a] *Archaeologia Aeliana* (8vo. series), vol. iii. p. 36. *Cat. of Alnwick Museum*, p. 12, pl. 14A, fig. 1.

sand blown from the beach.[a] That this must have been the case appears to be proved by the fact that, whereas when discovered the cairn was buried like the adjoining ground under many feet of sand, it had been, when first thrown up, placed upon the ordinary surface mould, which had no sand upon it, and, therefore, must have been beyond the range to which sand blown from the sea-shore extended.

It had contained, so far as I could ascertain, about twenty cists of the usual kind and several deposits of burnt bones, an unusally large number of interments in one sepulchral mound. There were also seven vessels of pottery, one of which I found myself.

I will now proceed to describe the cairn and its contents as I found it at the time of my visit, when, though the greater part had been destroyed during the work of quarrying, a portion was still left undisturbed, and when some of the cists, though they had been opened, had not been removed. What I think must have been the central and primary interment had been contained in a cist sunk to a depth of 2 feet 4 inches through the surface soil, broken stone, locally called "rab," and solid rock. It had a direction W. by S. and E. by N., and was 3 feet 7 inches long, 1 foot 11 inches wide, and 1 foot 10 inches deep, being formed of four side stones and a cover. The interment was of an unburnt body, the head of which had been placed at the east end. The bones were too much decayed to enable any further account of their position being given. In the cist were also a small bronze knife, now in the British Museum by the gift of Messrs. Green and Douglas, and a "food-vessel." This, which has three perforated ears, is $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches high and 16 inches in circumference, presumably at the widest part. It is covered over the whole surface, including the inside of the lip of the rim, with a herring-bone pattern. The knife (fig. 29), which has been much reduced in size by use and whetting, is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, and has three rivets still remaining intact. There was also in the cist a small piece of flint, now lost, but which, from the description given me by the man who found it, appeared to have been flaked into shape. Upon the cover of the cist, which was found broken through the middle, was a deposit of burnt bones overlaid at a height of 6 inches by a slab of sandstone larger than the cover stone of the cist and

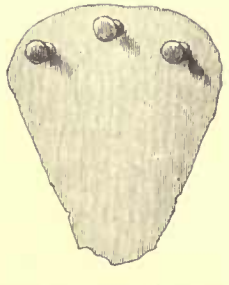


Fig. 29. Bronze Knife from Amble, Northumberland. $\frac{1}{1}$

[a] There are many indications of the encroachment of the sea along this part of the coast, among others are the remains, below high-water mark, of the shafts of ancient coal workings.

placed at the level of the original surface. Just beyond the east end of this cist was a small and rather irregularly shaped one, having one side about 16 inches long, the other being about 12 inches; the two ends were closed each by a single stone. It was covered by cobble stones and contained the much decayed bones of a child. Three feet to the south-west of the first cist, and 1 foot 3 inches above the original surface of the ground, was a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult, laid in a round heap about 10 inches in diameter. Six feet S.S.W. from the same cist was a smaller one, E. and W., 2 feet long, 1 foot 2 inches wide, and 1 foot deep. It was made of four side stones and a cover, and was placed on the top of the broken rock underlying the surface soil. There were, when I saw it, some burnt bones lying about it, evidently not in their original place of deposit, from which I am inclined to believe it had contained a burial after cremation. I could, however, obtain no distinct account from the workmen, except that there was a "pot" in it. This vessel (fig. 30), which has been given to the British Museum by Messrs. Green and Douglas, is $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide at the top, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. It is coarsely made, and in shape is something like a cinerary urn. On the inside of the lip of the rim is a band of diagonal lines, and on the upper part of the vessel for a space of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches a herring-bone pattern of five rows, the remaining part of the vessel being plain. All the lines have been made by a sharp-pointed instrument.

Fig. 30.
"Food-vessel" from Amble, Northumberland. ½

To the east of the cist just described had been two others, both destroyed before my visit, but which the workmen told me were similar in form and construction to those still remaining, and each containing a "pot." These, now in the possession of Mr. G. H. Thompson, of Alnwick, are "food-vessels." One, which is rather roughly made, is $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in circumference at the widest part, and is ornamented on the upper part with a band of vertical lines, between one band above and two beneath of inclining lines; the lower part has lines irregularly crossing each other and forming no definite pattern. The other, which is better made and ornamented, is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and 18 inches in circumference at the

widest part. The upper part has nine lines encircling it, beneath which are three bands of vertical lines, the middle one being placed between three encircling lines above and three beneath. All the lines are made by impressions of twisted thong. Thirteen feet S.S.W. from the cist first described was one, the bottom of which was at the same level as the cover of the first. It had a direction W. by N. and E. by S., and was 2 feet 6 inches long, 1 foot 3 inches wide, and the same deep. The workmen had no recollection of any bones, but there was a "pot" in it. Six feet north of the first cist, and 1 foot 6 inches higher than the stone which covered the deposit of burnt bones lying on the cist cover, was a "food-vessel," now in the British Museum, which almost touched the south-east corner of another cist, the bottom of which was formed by the surface soil. It was N.E. and S.W., 3 feet 10 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches wide, and 1 foot 10 inches deep, being made of four side stones and a cover, and having the joints filled in with clay. It contained the much decayed bones of an adult, of which sufficient remained to show that the body had been laid on the left side with the head to the east. On the bottom of the cist was some charcoal, an invariable accompaniment of an interment by inhumation. Close by the "food-vessel" were some teeth just traceable, and a little further away were remains of bones in the same decayed condition, all indicative of the interment of an unburnt body, with which the vessel had almost certainly been associated. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the top, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the bottom. The inside of the lip has a herring-bone pattern upon it. The outside has a band of diagonal lines with four encircling lines beneath; then follows, for a space of 3 inches, a herring-bone pattern, having beneath three encircling lines; the remaining space of one inch is plain. All the lines have been made by a sharp-pointed tool.

For the following description I am indebted to an imperfect account given of the cairn by Mr. George H. Thompson, in the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 1882-1884, p. 523. From the same account, which has engravings of a skull and of four of the "food-vessels," I have obtained the measurements and descriptions of some of the vases. The first cist discovered was a much larger one than any of the others. It was 6 feet long, 2 feet wide, and the same in depth, and was made of four side stones and a cover, brought, as was shown by their water-worn appearance, from the neighbouring sea-shore. It was placed on the original surface level, and contained the skeleton of a large man laid on the left side. The head, which was in a fair state of preservation, is markedly brachy-cephalic. Another cist, the precise situation of which has not

been recorded, had a direction N. and S., and was 4 feet long, 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet deep. Unlike the others it had the bottom formed of small flag-stones. It contained, besides the scanty remains of an unburnt body, a vessel in shape like a cinerary urn, 6 inches high, and 20 inches in circumference. The ornamentation, which is confined to the upper part, consists of a herring-bone pattern made by impressions of twisted thong.

A portion of what had been a large cinerary urn has been preserved. It must have been, when complete, about 11 inches high, and $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and had been ornamented on the upper part by a herring-bone pattern.

A bronze blade, now unfortunately lost, about 18 inches long and 2 inches or $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, with a central ridge, is said to have been found in the cairn. The description seems to apply to a dagger of larger size than is ordinarily found with an interment.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Parish of Snowshill.

CCXCVII. This barrow, one of more than ordinary interest, was opened in January 1881. It is situated in close proximity to an ancient roadway, the Bugghilda Streete of a charter,[a] and still called, in part of its course, Buckle Street. The barrow was placed on the ridge of the hill, about half a mile south-west of the village of Snowshill, in a field in which are other two barrows, both opened probably long ago, and of the result of which examination no record has been kept. Another barrow not far distant, two miles south of Broadway, is said to have contained bronze spear-heads and other articles, from which it may be inferred that the burial had been one of the bronze period.

The barrow under notice was 66 feet in diameter, and, though reduced by ploughing, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. At the centre, and partly sunk below the level of the natural surface, was a cist formed of four slabs of stone set on edge, with a single stone for a cover. It was 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. It contained the much-decayed skeleton of, presumably, a man, with whom were associated two bronze daggers, a bronze pin, and a perforated axe-hammer of stone. As these are all engraved, it will not be necessary to describe them minutely. One of the

[a] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 61.

daggers (fig. 31) of an uncommon form, is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide where the handle joins the blade. It is a very strongly made and powerful weapon. The blade has a tang, in the end of which is a rivet to attach the handle termination of bone or some other material now wanting from decay. The lower part of the handle is formed by a bronze ferrule, and is fastened on to the blade by two rivets which pass through the tang, one on each side.

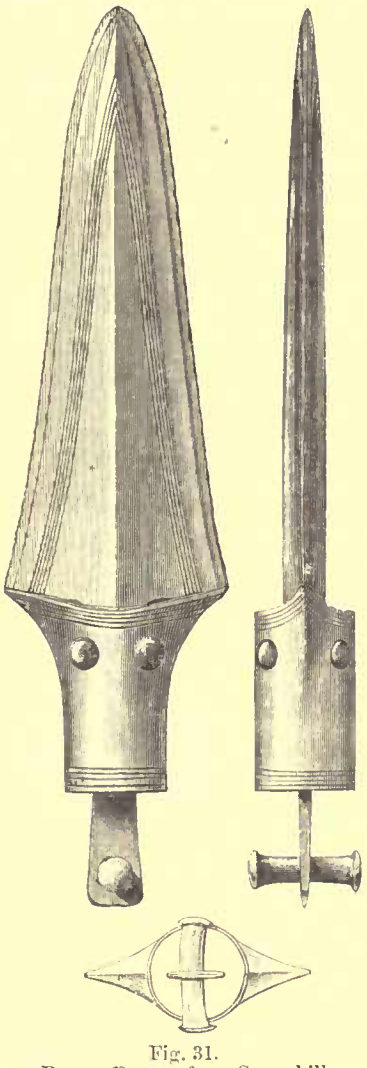


Fig. 31.
Bronze Dagger from Snowshill, Gloucestershire. ½

Similarly shaped daggers, but without the ferrule, have been found in several places in England, and one, from Stratford-le-Bow, is engraved in Evans' *Ancient Bronze Implements* (fig. 325). I am not aware of the existence of a dagger with a tang and ferrule, but one very similar to the present was among the weapons and implements of the Arreton Down hoard, found near Newport in the Isle of Wight about 1735. It is figured, from a drawing made soon after the discovery, in a paper by Mr. Franks, in *Archæologia*,[a] and again in Evans *l. c.* (fig. 324).

Fig. 32.
Bronze Dagger from Snowshill, Gloucestershire. ½

The other dagger (fig .32), not so strongly made, but still a serviceable weapon, is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the place where the handle terminates, in the usual semi-lunar form, on the blade. It has one bronze rivet at the middle of the handle-end of the blade, and two circular-shaped notches through which, probably, wooden pegs were passed to further strengthen the attachment of the handle. Daggers not very unlike this formed part of the Arreton Down hoard.

[a] Vol. xxxvi. Plate xxv., 2.

The pin (fig. 33) is $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, the head being $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch wide. Somewhat similarly-formed pins have been found in barrows in Wiltshire, one of which is engraved in Hoare.[a]

The stone axe-hammer (fig. 33) is beautifully made and bears a high polish. It is $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the cutting edge.

The burial in this barrow appears to have belonged to an early time of the use of bronze, though not perhaps to the earliest. The daggers are really such, and not knives, like so many so-called daggers found in barrows, and which seem to be the first articles of the kind made after the introduction of this metal. The similarity of the daggers of the present barrow to those found at Arreton Down appears to point to the barrow and the hoard belonging to the same date. The axes of the Arreton Down hoard are not of the simple type without any flanges, modelled upon the form of the stone axe, and intended to be handled in the same fashion, but show an advance in manufacture in the same way as the daggers of this barrow do when compared with the smaller and simpler knives of the earliest period of bronze. The concurrent use of stone and bronze, though shown in many instances where implements of the two materials have been found associated with an interment, receives a valuable illustration from this burial.[b]

Fig. 33. Bronze Pin from Snowshill, Gloucestershire. $\frac{1}{2}$

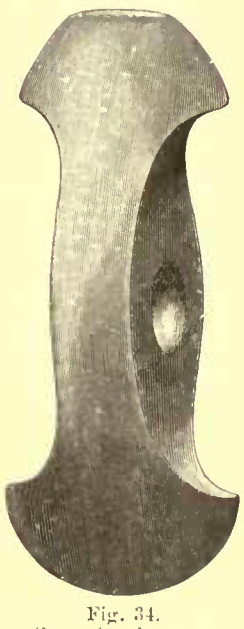


Fig. 34. Stone Axe-hammer from Snowshill, Gloucestershire. $\frac{1}{2}$

[a] *Ancient Wilts.* Vol. I. Pl. xxiv.

[b] For the details of this account I am indebted to the *Archæological Handbook of the County of Gloucester*, by G. B. Witts, C. E., who has kindly supplemented by letter the information therein contained.

II.—*On a Sculptured Cross at Kelloe, Durham.* *By the* Rev. J. T. Fowler, *M.A., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Durham.*

Read January 24, 1889.

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* for April 6th, 1874,[a] it is mentioned that the Durham Archaeological Society had "undertaken to give an account of a very curious cross at Kelloe, sculptured with subjects relating to the Invention of the Cross." This undertaking has not yet been carried out, but we have recently had a drawing made, and this I send for exhibition at one of our meetings, in the hope that some further information may be brought to bear upon it. It will at once be seen that the cross is of Norman, not Saxon date. It had been broken up and used as walling material, but on the discovery of the pieces they were put together again and fixed up against the inside of the chancel wall. where they now are. We were told by the then rector, who had this done, that the back is quite plain, from which, and from its being so thin, it would seem to have always stood against a wall, as at present, or at any rate not to have been an outdoor cross. The material is a fine greenish grey sandstone. The sculpture for the most part speaks for itself. In the transverse arms of the cross we have the inscription, IN HOC VINCES. The uppermost subject is that of an angel revealing to St. Helen in a dream where the cross would be found. Below this are two figures, one probably representing St. Helen, to whom the church is dedicated. One of these holds the cross, the other (apparently) a book, casket, or

[a] Second Series, vi. 181.

Sculptured Cross at Kelloe, Durham.
Elevation, and view of one side.

reliquary. Below, we have St. Helen, with drawn sword, giving to Judas, the Jew, his choice of life or death in order to make him tell the exact place where they were to dig. He is represented spade in hand, while at the same time two swathed corpses are lying with crosses,[a] possibly those of the two thieves, on their breasts, and one has come to life at the touch of the true cross, and is holding up the right hand as in benediction. The artist has put the title on the cross, forgetting that owing to the title having become detached it was only by a miracle that the Holy Cross could be identified. He has also introduced the sun and moon. An interesting feature in this cross is that it has a number of cavities, apparently intended to contain relics, protected by crystal or glass. These are, in the centre and four arms of the cross, five; over the middle of the curtain behind St. Helen, one; and over the two central figures, three; nine in all. I should be glad to know more about them. There are also two iron eyes fastened in with lead, as if there had been some contrivance to hold a lamp or candles to burn before the principal relic, probably a portion of the *lignum crucis*. These are a little below the lowest arm of the cross, above the angel, and just discernible in the cut.

Altogether this cross presents so many interesting features that I have much pleasure in bringing it before the notice of the Society.

The drawing of the cross was made by Mr. N. Hamlyn, of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham.

[a] These are scarcely visible in the woodcut, but quite distinct on the stone.

III.—*On an Astrolabe Planisphere of English make.* *By the Worshipful* Chancellor Ferguson, *M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.*

Read January 24, 1889.

I have the honour to exhibit, through the kindness of the owner, Mrs. Rimington of Tynefield, Penrith, a planispheric astrolabe of English make. It was included among the antiquities and curiosities exhibited at a recent art and industrial exhibition held at that place, and my attention was drawn to it by a member of the committee, who asked by what name it should be catalogued. I must own that I guessed rather than knew that the object was an astrolabe, but as to its uses I was profoundly ignorant; I borrowed the instrument and endeavoured to inform myself. I found this difficult to do, as the treatises on astrolabes are rare and scarce, and it is impossible to obtain a sight of some of them without a visit to London: this I was unable through illness to undertake.[a] The standard work on the subject is Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe; addressed to his son Lowys*, and dated 1391. This has been most ably edited for the Early English Text Society[b] by Professor Skeat, and to it I am much indebted. There is also an earlier edition by Mr. Brae, in 1870, which I have not seen. There is a valuable paper in *The Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. xii. entitled *Remarks on an Astrolabe*, by Robert Taylor, M.A., which gives a description of an astrolabe of English make, the property of Mr. Hyett of Painswick House, Gloucestershire. A paper on the astrolabe, by the late Octavius Morgan, F.S.A., is also interred in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiv., under the title of *Supplementary Observations on an Astronomical and Astrological Table Clock, together with an account of the Astrolabe.* No diagrams are given with this paper, and the instrument exhibited was defective and of foreign make. Astrolabes have at various times been exhibited at the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Archaeological Institute,[c] but the exhibitors have not attempted to describe their exhibits.

[a] Mr. Octavius Morgan, *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 261, refers to the following as scarce: *A Mirror for Mathematics, a Golden Gem for Geometricians, a sure Safety for Saylers, and an auncient Antiquary for Astronomers and Astrologians.* By Robert Tanner, Gent. Practitioner in Astrologie and Physic. London, 1587.

The Description of a Planispheric Astrolabe, constructed for Sháh Sultán Husain Safaúr, King of Persia, by W. H. Morley, Williams and Norgate, 1856, is also rare, only 100 copies having been printed for private distribution.

[b] Extra series, xvi.

[c] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Series, iii. 27, 520. *Archaeological*

The astrolabe planisphere I now exhibit to the Society (Plate III.) wants two of its members, the rewle and the label; these I have replaced by rude imitations, not by way of restoration or reparation, but by way of illustration for the information of the few Fellows of the Society who may be as ignorant about astrolabes as I was until recently. The screw and nut which hold the parts of the instrument together are also modern and clumsy;[a] this duty would be originally discharged by a pin with a large head at one end, and a slot at the other through which a cotteril or wedge passed to hold it in place; this wedge is sometimes made into the shape of a horse, and is so called. The technical name of the central pin is the "alchitot," "axis," or *clavus*,[b] and it passes through the astrolabe from the back.

The principal part of the instrument consists of a heavy disc of brass $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter; there is a loop on the circumference with which a ring is connected by a turet or swivel, forming the handle by which the instrument hangs freely from the thumb of the right hand when used for taking altitudes.

The "front" of the instrument has a rim about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in breadth and about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in height. The rim is marked with three circles: the outermost is the Circle of Letters, A to Z, twenty-three in number, as J, V, and W are wanting. A small ✠ at the zero point, immediately under the handle, makes twenty-four divisions, which represent the twenty-four hours of the day. The two inner circles represent the degrees of the quadrants, from zero to 360°.

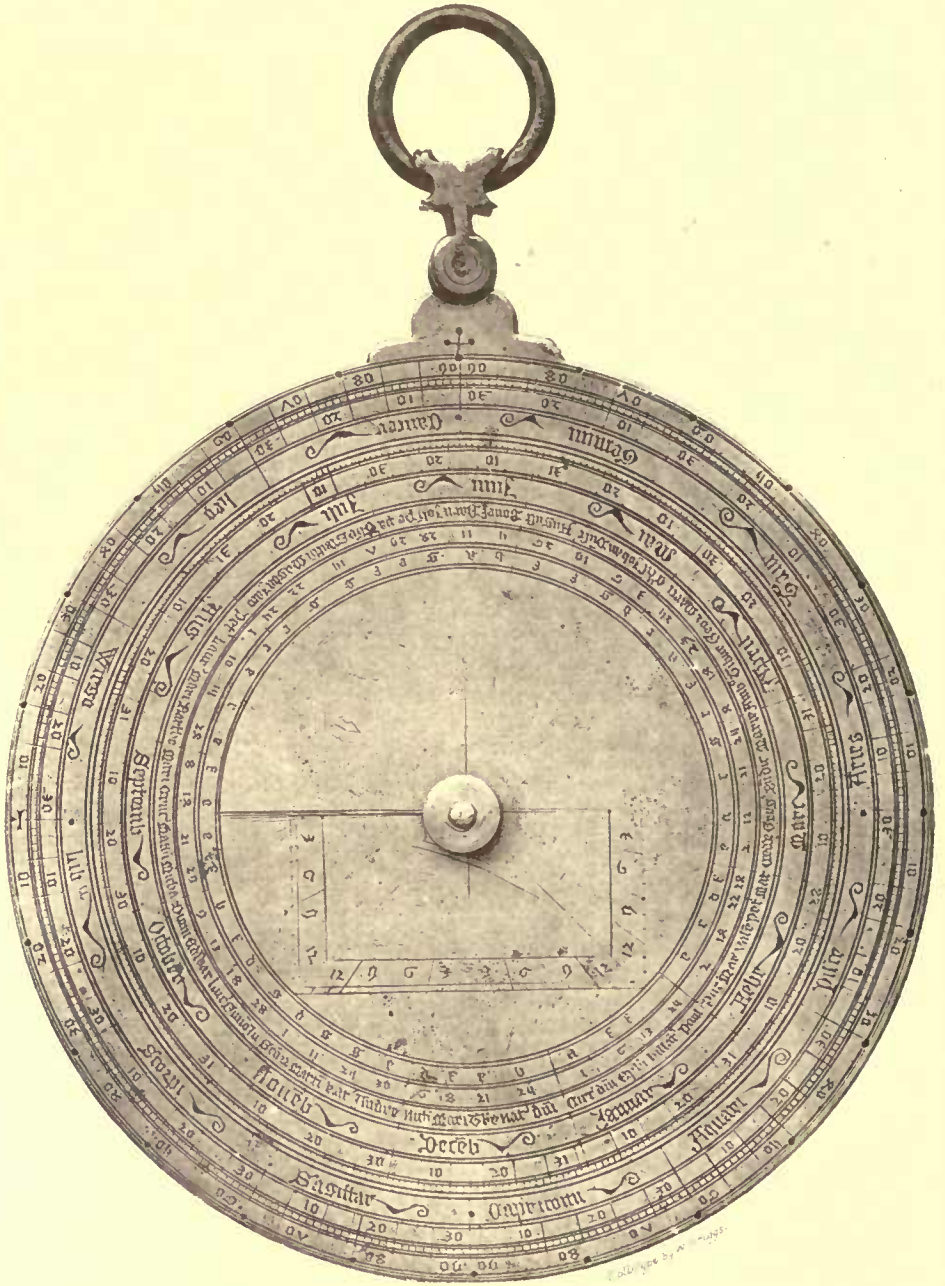
The broad depressed centre of the "front" is the "womb;" the body of the instrument, without the detachable pieces, being the "moder" or "mother." In the instrument, as described by Chaucer, the surface of the womb should have on it three circles, the *Tropicus Cancri*, the *Aequinoctialis*, and the *Tropicus Capricorni*, and two cross-lines from north to south and east to west.

On the womb of the instrument now exhibited there are faint circles in positions of *Aequinoctialis* and *Tropicus Capricorni*, but *Tropicus Cancri* is wanting,

Journal, xii. 292. See also *Archaeologia*, xxxiii. 8, 84, and 293, and xxxiv. 1, and 258: "Observations on an Astrological Clock, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries"; and xl. 343, "An Account of a Pocket Dial or Nocturnal."

[a] This pin is coeval with the rewle and label, and I have had their date, 1888, scratched upon all the three: the pin of 1888 supplanted a similar pin, only rather shorter, evidently modern, and of a different coloured metal to the rest of the instrument. This pin will not fit into the astrolabe, if put in, as it ought to be, from the back side: when I first saw the instrument, this pin was inserted from the front, and the *rete* was on the back of the instrument, clearly showing that the parts of the instrument had been put together by some person who did not understand it.

[b] *A Treatise on the Astrolabe, by Geoffrey Chaucer.* Early-English Text Society. Extra Series, xvi. p. 8, n. edited by Professor Skeat.



AN ASTROLABE PLANISPHERE OF ENGLISH MAKE.

and there is a circle just outside *Aequinoctialis*, which I do not understand. The cross-lines are absent. I may remark that this instrument is intended for use by an expert, the names of the various circles, etc. not being engraved upon it, as on the astrolabe described by Chaucer, and drawn by Professor Skeat.[a]

Into the womb fit three loose discs of thin metal, engraved on each side, and each having a tooth which fits into a hole undercut in the rim of the moder, and keeps them from revolving with the "rete," which will be presently described. These discs are called by Chaucer the "tables," and the engravings on them represent the stereographic projections of the sphere for the following places, whose names and latitudes are engraved thereon: Berwick, latitude 56°; Newcastle, latitude 55°; York, latitude 54°; Nottingham, 53°; Oxford, 52°; and Dover, 51°. These latitudes are only rough approximations. From the towns selected, which judiciously divide the length of England, it is obvious that the astrolabe now exhibited could be used for taking observations at any place in that country: we may also conclude that the instrument is of English make for use in England.

Each projection has the north and south and the east and west lines, the last of which is called the *horizon rectus*, and is so marked on the tables of Chaucer's astrolabe, but not on those of this instrument, which, as I have stated before, is for the use of an expert, and not of a beginner like Chaucer's son, "litell Lowys." Each projection has also delineated on it the *Tropicus Cancri*, the *Aequinoctialis*, and the *Tropicus Capricorni*, the last being the circle nearest the edge of the disc or table. The relation of these lines to one another is the same for all places. The other lines vary with the latitude: there are the *almucantars*, or parallels of altitude, parallel with the horizon; the first *almucantar* is the *horizon obliquus*, separating the upper from the lower hemisphere; the centre of the inner *almucantar* is the zenith; then there are the *azimuths*, vertical circles which pass through the zenith, and cut the *almucantars*; they are not continued below the first *almucantar*. Lastly, below the *Tropicus Cancri* are the *embelif* lines, which divide the three circles below the horizon into twelve equal parts. The *almucantars* in the astrolabe now exhibited are drawn one for every second degree, that is there are forty-five of them, as in the astrolabe described by Chaucer, but there are only sixteen *azimuths*, as against Chaucer's twenty-four.

There is a fourth loose plate, called the *rete*, "net," *volvellum*, or "spider." It is a skeleton-plate, a plane projection of the heavens north of the *Tropicus*

[a] *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, etc. *ut ante*.

Capricorni. It consists chiefly of two circles : the outer represents the *Tropicus Capricorni* (this circle is cut away in one place for convenience), the inner represents the ecliptic with the signs of the Zodiac. A denticle or tooth on this, between Capricornus and Sagittarius, is called the "almuri." Small wavy tongues denote, by their points, the positions of certain fixed stars, in this case twenty-three in number, whose names are engraved on the framework of the *rete*. The *rete* is placed on the moder, over one or other of the discs or tables just described, upon which it revolves freely. It is said to be in its primary position when the almuri is opposite the small cross on the circle of letters on the rim of the moder.

The following is a list of the fixed stars named on the *rete*, so far as I can read them; some of the names are much rubbed, particularly those within the Zodiac, probably done by the thumb in turning the *rete* round. The travelling of the label over the *rete* would account for the illegibility of the names on the little central circle. The list must be received with caution. I do not pretend to be a luminary on fixed stars; and for the modern names I am indebted to Professor Skeat's edition of Chaucer.

Without the Zodiac.

On the outer circle :

1. Deneb Algedi :
   The Goat's Tail, δ Capricorni.
2. Batukaito :
   The Whale's Belly, ζ Ceti.
3. Alhabor :
   Sirius, the Dog Star, marked by the figure of a dog's head, the star being at the tip of the tongue.
4. Corvus :
   Otherwise Algorab, γ Corvi.
5. Alchim^{e} :
   Alchimec, *Spica Virginis*, α Virginis.
6. Alacrab :
   Calalacrab, or *Cor Scorpii :* the star being at the tip of the dragon's tongue.

On the cross pieces :

7. Alfard :
   Alphard, *Cor Hydrae*, α Hydrae.
8. Algomeiza :
   Procyon, α Canis Minoris, the Little Dog.

9. Rigil :
   Orion's Foot, β Orionis.
10. Aldeb⁓ :
   Aldebaran, α Tauri, or the Bull's Eye.
11. Menkar :
   The Whale's Nose, α Ceti.

WITHIN THE ZODIAC.

On the central circle :

12. Vrsa :
   Dubhe, α Ursae Majoris.
13. Alg[enib] ? :
   α Persei.

On the outer circle :

14. Hu. eq^{i} :
   Mentichel, *Humerus Equi*, α Andromedae.
15. Name worn out. May, from the position, be Mirach, β Andromedae.
16. Alaioc :
   Probably Alhaioth, or Capella, α Aurigae.
17. Name worn out It seems to end in *mle*.
18. Alram :
   Alramech, Arcturus, α Bootis.

On the cross pieces :

19. Delfin :
   β Equulei.
20. Altah :
   Altair, α Aquilae.
21. Wega :
   α Lyrae.
22. Alhawe :
   Alhaue, α Serpentarii.
23. Elfeca :
   Alpheca, α Coronae Borealis.

In front of the *rete* revolves a moveable pointer, called the label, a thin rule of brass, with half the breadth cut away from each end, so as to give a straight edge in the line of the diameter. This is called the Line of Trust.

The label now on the astrolabe I exhibit is, as I have said, modern, added temporarily by me by way of illustration ; it is not shown on the Plate. Eastern

and foreign astrolabes did not, it would seem, have labels, and this one may not have had, but the astrolabe described by Chaucer has a label. The present specimen so closely corresponds with Chaucer's description as to make it certain that it once had a label, which probably was only placed on the instrument when wanted, or more probably was detached when not wanted.

Thus far we have been dealing with the "front" of the instrument; we now have to deal with the back, on which are engraved ten concentric circles, and the north-south and east-west cross lines. The two outer circles represent the 360 degrees of the circle, and the inner circle is actually divided into that number; the outer one into groups of 5° each, or 72 divisions in all. The degrees are numbered in tens up to 90 in each quadrant, the zero points being at the extremities of the east-west line. The next circle is divided into twelve, and represents the signs of the zodiac, whose names are engraved in old-English letters; while the next circle is also divided into twelve divisions, each of which is subdivided into the thirty degrees pertaining to each sign. The fifth circle is divided into 365 divisions for the days of the year, and lines drawn from the ends of the last day of each month divide the sixth circle into months, each of which is divided, as near as may be into periods of five days, numbered in tens as near as may be.

The seventh circle gives the names of the months; the eighth circle gives a list of forty-eight festivals of the Church, four for each month; the ninth gives the days on which they fall, and the tenth their Sunday letters.

In the centre of the rings is the scale of *umbra recta* and *umbra versa*, each divided into twelve equal parts and numbered.

The rule revolves upon the back of the astrolabe, and is similar to the label, but has sights, which are sometimes hinged to fold out of the way. The rule now on the instrument is, as I have said, modern, for illustration only: it is not shown on the Plate. This is called the *Alidad*.

The following is the list of festivals given on the back of the instrument:

FESTIVALS OF THE CHURCH.

	As engraved on the astrolabe.	Expanded as in the calendar.
January	1. Circ' dñi	Circumcisio Domini.
	6. Ephī	Epiphania Domini.
	13. Hillar'	Hilarius.
	25. Paul	Conversio S. Pauli.
February	2. Pur' Mar	Purificatio B. V. M.

	As engraved on the astrolabe.	Expanded as in the calendar.
	14. Valē	Valentinus.
	22. Pet'	Cathedra S. Petri in Antiochia.
	24. Mat	Matthias.
March	2. Cedde	Cedda
	12. Greg'	Gregorius.
	21. Bn̄dic	Benedictus.
	25. Marie	Annunciatio Dominica.
April	4. Amb'	Ambrosius.
	14. Tibur	Tiburtius.
	23. Geor	Georgius.
	25. Marci	Marcus.
May	3. C^{u}cis	Inventio Crucis.
	6. Johan	Johannes ante Portam Latinam.
	19. Dūst'	Dunstanus.
	26. August	Augustinus Anglorum Ap.
June	5. Bonef	Bonifacius.
	11. Barn	Barnabas.
	24. Joh̄	Nativitas S. Johannis Bapt.
	29. Pe pa	Petrus et Paulus.
July	7. The	Transl. S. Thomæ.
	15. Swithn	Transl. S. Swithini.
	22. Magda	Maria Magdalena.
	25. Jaco	Jacobus.
August	1. Pet'	Festum S. Petri ad Vincula.
	10. Laur'	Laurentius.
	15. Mari	Assumptio B. V. Mariæ.
	24. Bartho	Bartholomæus.
September	8. Mari	Nativitas B. V. Mariæ.
	14. Cruc'	Exaltatio Sanctæ Crucis.
	21. Mathi	Matthæus.
	29. Micha	Michaelis.
October	9. Dioni	Dionysius.
	13. Edwar	Translatio S. Edwardi R. et Conf.
	18. Luc'	Lucas.
	28. Simō Ju	Simon et Judas.
November	1. Sc̃oz̄	Omnium Sanctorum.

	As engraved on the astrolabe.	Expanded as in the calendar.
	11. Martī	Martinus.
	25. Kat'	Katherina.
	30. Andre'	Andreas.
December	6. Nicħ	Nicolaus.
	8. Mari	Conceptio B. V. Mariæ.
	21. The	Thomas Ap.
	25. Nat' dñi	Nativitas Domini.

From Chaucer it would appear that every astrolabe should have a calendar of festivals, but Mr. Taylor points out that only two English ones have, viz.: the Sloane one in the British Museum, which has forty-eight, and the one described by Mr. Taylor, which has thirty-six.[a] The three calendars, viz. those just mentioned and the one on this astrolabe, differ considerably in the selection of festivals given, and it is to be wished that some expert in hagiology would examine the three calendars and endeavour to ascertain the principle of selection.[b] The astrolabe now exhibited is the only one that gives St. George's Day. I have put the lists in an appendix.

With so small an instrument it is difficult to be very accurate, but I have carefully examined the astrolabe now exhibited with a magnifying glass and a straight edge, and find that it shows the sun as entering the first point of Aries (the vernal equinox) early on March 12th; in 1888 it entered at 4 a.m. on March 20th. Chaucer, in his account of the astrolabe makes the sun enter Aries on the 12th of March, and we may conclude that the astrolabe now exhibited is about the same date as that described by Chaucer in 1391, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. That it is of English make is undoubted; and hence its great value, as only about half a-dozen English astrolabes appear to be known.

It would be superfluous to load this paper with the list of the operations which can be performed with an astrolabe. Professor Skeat's edition of Chaucer and Mr. Taylor's paper are in the library, while Mr. Octavius Morgan has given in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 263-4, a list of them to which he adds :

"We here see that our forefathers had invented and constructed a very clever and useful instrument, and one which was remarkably portable, and there is probably no one instrument of modern time by which so many operations could be performed and so much knowledge acquired."

[a] See Mr. Taylor's paper, *ut ante*, p. 15.

[b] Mr. Taylor's gives the lists of the festivals in the Sloane astrolabe and the one he describes.

APPENDIX I.

Lists of Festivals.

	From the Astrolabe described by Mr. Taylor.	From an Astrolabe (from the Sloane collection) in the British Museum.	From the Astrolabe described in this paper.
January	Circumcision Epiphany Vincent	Circumcision Epiphany Hilary Vincent Paul	Circumcision Epiphany Hilary Paul
February	Purification Scolastica Chair of St. Peter	Purification Valentin Chair of St. Peter Matthias	Purification Valentine Chair of St. Peter Matthias
March	Cedda Gregory Annunciation	Gregory Benedict Annunciation	Cedda Gregory Benedict Annunciation
April	Ambrose Elfege Mark	Ambrose Tiburtius Mark	Ambrose Tiburtius George Mark
May	Philip Dunstan Aldhelm	Philip Holy Cross John ante P. L. Dunstan Augustine	Inventio Crucis John ante P. L. Dunstan Augustine
June	Barnabas Alban Peter	Barnabas John Baptist Peter	Boniface Barnabas John Baptist Peter & Paul

LISTS OF FESTIVALS—*continued.*

	From the Astrolabe described by Mr. Taylor.	From an Astrolabe (from the Sloane collection) in the British Museum.	From the Astrolabe described in this paper.
July	Thomas Margaret James	Martin Margaret James	Thomas Swithin Magdalene James
August	Laurence Assumption B. V. M. Bartholomew	Peter ad Vincula Laurence Assumption B. V. M. Bartholomew	Peter ad Vincula Laurence Assumption B. V. M. Bartholomew
September	Nativ. B.V. Mary Matthew Michael	Giles Nativ. B. V. Mary Holy Cross Matthew Michael	Nativ. B. V. Mary Ex. S. Crucis Matthew Michael
October	Denys Luke Simon	Remigius Denys Luke Simon	Denys Edward Conf. Luke Simon and Jude
November	Martin Hugh of Lincoln Katherine	All Saints Martin Edmund Katherine Andrew	All Saints Martin Katherine Andrew
December	Conception B. V. M. Thomas Nativity	Nicholas Lucy Thomas Nativity	Nicholas Conception B. V. M. Thomas Nativity

IV.—*On the Sculptured Doorways of the Lady Chapel of Glastonbury Abbey.*

By W. H. St. John Hope, *M.A. Assistant-Secretary.*

Read January 31, 1889.

At the west end of the great abbey church of SS. Peter and Paul at Glastonbury are the ruins of a chapel of very remarkable character.

It was built on the site of a *vetusta ecclesia* dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of very great antiquity, which was consumed by fire, together with the great church and nearly all the abbey buildings, in 1184.

As the *vetusta ecclesia*, from its sanctity and the number of relics it contained, was a holy place much resorted to by pilgrims, its reconstruction was forthwith commenced, and carried out with such speed that "about 1186" it was ready for consecration by Reginald, bishop of Bath.

The new building was a detached structure, complete in itself, and was not connected with the great church until some fifty years later. How this was effected, and how still later the chapel, in a most ingenious manner, was actually furnished with a crypt throughout its area, have already been ably explained and described by the late Professor Willis,[a] and I need not enter upon the subject here. I should however state that the learned professor has proved beyond all doubt that the proper name of the building is the "chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary," and that its modern appellation of "St. Joseph's chapel" has no earlier authority than Hollar's view in the 1655 edition of the *Monasticon*, entitled "Josephi sacellum."

The portion of the Lady chapel built after the fire of 1184 is in plan a simple parallelogram, about sixty-three feet long and thirty-three feet wide within. It consists of four bays, and has a rich doorway on each side in the third bay. These doorways, though built at the same time, differ considerably in ornamentation.

The north doorway (Plate IV.),[b] which was the principal entrance to the chapel, had a semicircular head of five orders, the innermost of which is now completely broken away. The second and fourth orders have a rounded section, and were carried by detached jamb-shafts with carved capitals. The other three orders, on the other hand, had a hollowed section, and were continued without break down to the ground on each side.

The orders of the doorway are entirely covered with very rich carving, executed

[a] *The Architectural History of Glastonbury Abbey.* Cambridge, 1866.

[b] An excellent drawing of the doorway is published in vol. iv. plate xxxiv. of *Vetusta Monumenta*, and by the kindness of our Fellow the Rev. J. A. Bennett, I am able to exhibit a careful drawing on a larger scale recently made for him by a friend.

with great spirit. The two remaining continuous orders are filled from end to end with a wonderful variety of foliage, with beasts, birds, human, and other figures intermingled. These appear to be devoid of any meaning, and are simply the creation of the carver's fancy and skill. The second and fourth orders are also covered with carvings, but with a manifest intention to represent a group of incidents. The treatment of the two series differs; the second order having the groups more or less connected together by foliage, while the fourth order has the subjects placed in pointed oval loops with the intermediate spaces filled in with foliage.

Beginning on the dexter side of the second order, we have

1. A figure of a woman kneeling.
2. An angel standing, with outstretched wings.
3. Two women embracing.
4. A large group, unfortunately much mutilated. Under arches, denoting the interior of a house, is a figure in bed, with another sitting at the head, and some subject, now broken away, at the foot.
5. An angel with outspread wings standing between a seated figure on his right, and another figure (broken) and a dog on his left. Beyond is a third figure, much broken, which may refer to this subject.

6, 7, 8. Three standing figures, with crowns on their heads.

9. A crowned figure, seated.

The fourth order has eighteen loops, containing

1. The standing figure of a king, much broken.
2. A standing figure, the head lost.
3. A kneeling figure, somewhat damaged.
4. A figure of a woman seated, holding a child.

5, 6, 7. Each of these contains a man on horseback, all riding away in the same direction.

8, 9, 10. In each of these loops is a person lying in a bed. Over the first figure is an angel appearing out of a cloud, while the other two have apparently curtains looped up on each side.

11. A man in armour with a shield, and holding a club or mace.
12. A king seated.
13. A knight in ring-mail striking with his sword at some object held in his left hand.
14. A knight in chain-mail with a small figure impaled on his sword.
15. Two women, seemingly weeping or in great distress.
16. A person in bed; above, the hand of God issuing from a cloud.
17. This is broken, but an animal or beast of burden can be made out.
18. A man carrying a burden.

NORTH DOORWAY OF THE LADY CHAPEL OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

The meaning of these subjects has hitherto baffled the efforts of local archaeologists, who have supposed them to illustrate some legend or legends connecting Glastonbury with Joseph of Arimathea. Not being imbued with any such notions, I, at Mr. Bennett's request, examined the sculptures myself a few months ago, with the result that I found they represented simply the Gospel narrative of Our Lord's birth, etc., as narrated partly by St. Luke and partly by St. Matthew.

Beginning with the second ring, we have (1) and (2) the Annunciation; (3) the Salutation; (4) the Nativity, the broken figures at the head and foot of the bed being intended for Joseph, and the ox and ass; (5) evidently represents the angel appearing to the shepherds, and (6), (7), (8), the three kings enquiring of (9) Herod, "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?"

The narrative continues in the series of loops with (1), (2), (3), the three kings offering gifts to (4) the Virgin and Child; (5), (6), (7), represent the three kings riding away, while (8), (9), (10), shew their being warned of God in a dream that "they should not return to Herod," but depart "into their own country another way;" (11) is a sergeant-at-mace attending on (12) Herod, "exceeding wroth" at being "mocked of the wise men," and (13) and (14) represent the carrying out of the cruel command to slay "all the male children that were in Bethlehem," etc. The two women in (15) denote the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy: "A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation, and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children; she refuseth to be comforted, because they are not." Loop (16) represents the angel appearing to Joseph in a dream, and bidding him, "Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt," and (17) clearly once shewed the Blessed Virgin and Child riding on an ass, while in (18), Joseph was represented carrying the baggage. It is, however, equally possible that these three last loops may represent the return from Egypt after the death of Herod.

I do not remember to have seen it noticed that at one time, as is shewn by the marks of the roof, etc., this door was protected by an outer porch, now destroyed.

The south door (Plate V.) resembles its fellow in having five orders in the head. The four outer orders correspond to those in the other door, and are similarly hollowed and rounded alternately. The innermost order of this door is also hollowed, and, like the other hollowed orders, was carried down to the ground on each side. It is now, however, broken off at the springing on both sides. The first, third, and fifth orders, viz., the hollowed ones, are filled with a most beautiful band of foliage, without figures, and almost early-English in character. The second and fourth members are particularly interesting as showing that the carving of the doorway was never completed. The former was intended to have eight sunk panels, probably with intermediate foliage, but only two panels are finished, containing respectively the Creation of Eve and the

Temptation; the rest are not even outlined. The latter order is quite plain, without any vestige of carving of any kind.

These Glastonbury doorways should be compared with the splendid doorways of the same date at Malmesbury Abbey.[a] The remains of the great west door at the latter place are exceptionally interesting. Not only has it the same scheme of decoration as the southern of the Glastonbury doors, but one of the orders is similarly left uncarved, while the other has subjects in loops with intermediate foliage of precisely the character which the Glastonbury door was intended to have had. The great south door at Malmesbury, one of the most splendid examples in the kingdom, strongly resembles the Glastonbury north door, though its general character is somewhat earlier in appearance. The three orders with scriptural subjects in loops are however quite in the style of the Glastonbury door, and were perhaps wrought by the same carver at a subsequent date to the narrow members, which have thoroughly Norman ornament.

In conclusion, I should like to make a few remarks on the position of the altar and reredos in the Glastonbury chapel.

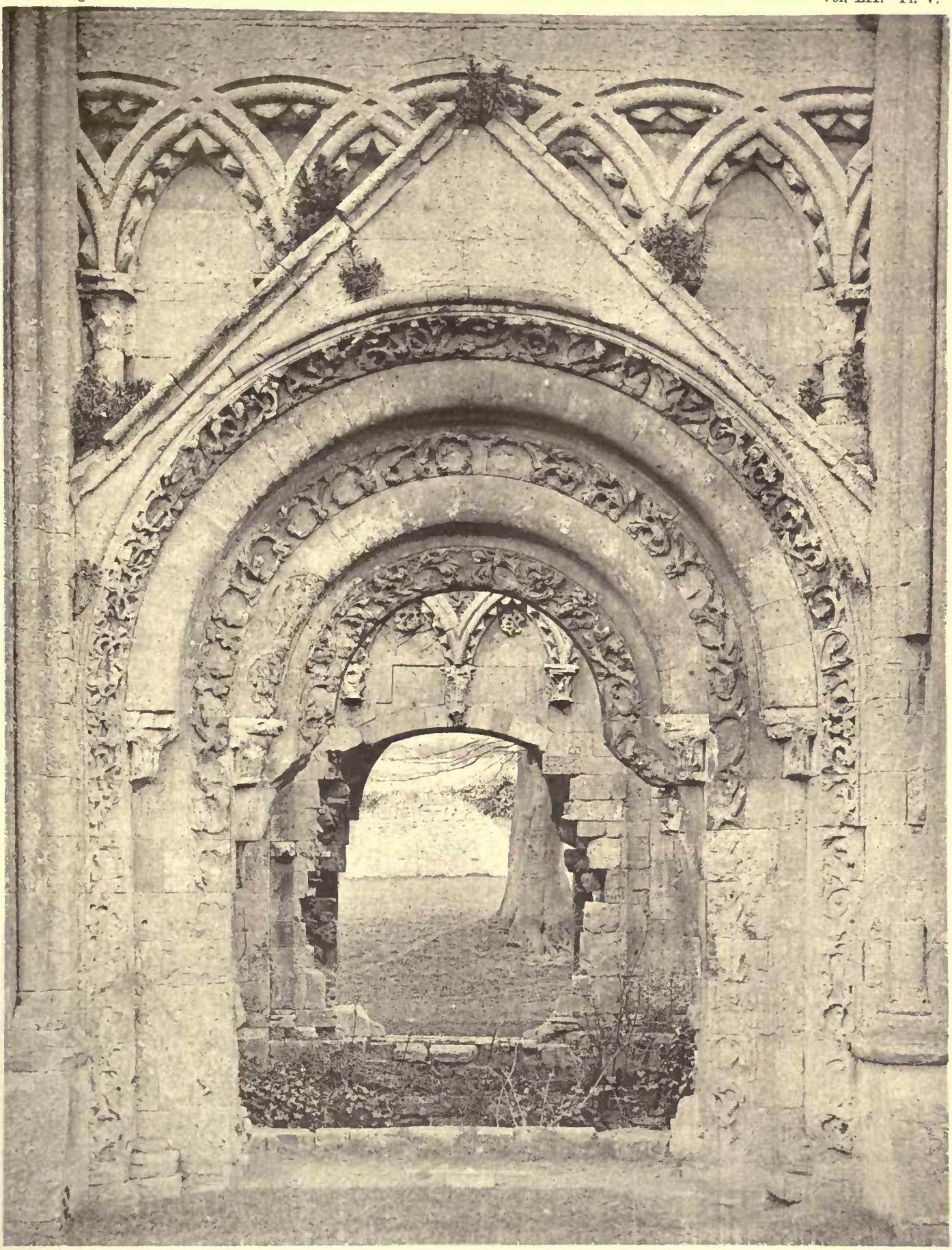
Professor Willis, in his admirable description of the chapel published in 1866,[b] in speaking of the arrangements of altar and reredos says, "There are no traces of the abutments of such a partition, or reredos, against the present walls," but he indicates what he considered their probable position. Mr. James Parker, also, in describing the building in 1880,[c] expressed regret that there have not been "handed down to us sufficient remains of the walls shewing the position of the reredos and the general arrangements of the chapel."

Now whether or not the walls of the chapel in 1866, and again in 1880, were covered with ivy, I do not know, but at the present time the marks not only of the reredos but also of the fence-screen to the west of it are plainly visible on both sides. The position of the reredos is clearly indicated by the holes for the timbers remaining in the jambs of the arch that separated the chapel proper from the Galilee afterwards connecting it with the great church. This is almost on the line suggested by Professor Willis. Twenty feet further west, on the line between the first and second bays, are the notches for the rood-screen, with, immediately to the west of it, the large holes for the ends of the rood-beam. Between the screen and the reredos the walls on each side have a row of holes as if for timbers, some ten feet from the original floor-line, and beneath these are a number of pin-holes, as if for fixing up some piece of furniture, perhaps cupboards for the display of relics.

[a] Also figured in *Vetusta Monumenta*, v. plates vii. and viii.

[b] Page 58.

[c] *Trans. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxvi., pt. 2, p. 43.



SOUTH DOORWAY OF THE LADY CHAPEL OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

V.—*Roger of Salisbury, first bishop of Bath and Wells*, 1244-1247. *By the* Rev. C. M. Church, *M.A., F.S.A., Sub-Dean and Canon Residentiary of Wells.*

Read February 7, 1889.

The episcopate of Roger of Salisbury, first bishop who bore the title of Bath and Wells, is short, but memorable in the annals of the church of Wells.

It was the time when the rule of election of the bishop by the joint action of the two chapters of the monks of Bath and the canons of Wells was authoritatively and finally settled, and the style of the bishop, *Episcopus Bathoniensis et Wellensis*, was officially adopted.

There are two documents, original and unpublished, in the manuscript records of the chapter library at Wells, which are the historical landmarks on the subject in the time between the death of Jocelin and that of Roger his successor, 1242-1247:

(*a.*) The first is dated July 1242. It is an *inspeximus* of all the documents which recorded the election of bishops Reginald and Jocelin to the see of Bath, attested by bishop Jocelin and by William Brewer, bishop of Exeter, and William de Ralegh, bishop of Norwich.

(*b.*) The second is the "pacification" between the two chapters—the charter by which the rule of the bishop's election, the *norma eligendi*, was settled, under the authority of pope Innocent IV. It was drawn up by bishop Roger, styling himself "bishop of Bath and Wells," confirmed by the seals of the two chapters, and afterwards ratified by the prior and convent of Bath in their chapter-house, August 19, 1246.

I propose to give in this paper a sketch of the chapter history between the dates of these two documents, as far as it is contained in the registers of the dean and chapter of Wells.

The church of secular canons at Wells had at this time hostile rivals on each side, in the Benedictine houses of Bath and Glastonbury. These convents claimed earlier and more hallowed traditions, and looked with jealousy on the fostering care bestowed on Wells by later bishops, and by Jocelin especially.

Savaric had laid violent hands on Glastonbury; Jocelin had withdrawn his hold, but in so doing he had attached to his see four principal manors ceded by the abbey as the price of independence. He had made Wells to be the *sedes præsulea* of the diocese, and the primacy of Bath had become little more than
1242. nominal; and shortly before his death he had taken measures with the view of securing to Wells the pre-eminence he had given to it in his lifetime.

He had bequeathed his body to the church of Wells. This choice of Wells as the place of burial consecrated Wells as the first church of the diocese, and made a great breach in the traditionary honour of the church of Bath, which for the last hundred and fifty years had been the burial-place of the bishops of the see of Somerset.

Again, he had, as it were, left testamentary directions as to the election of his successor in the first of these two documents just mentioned, setting out the precedents of election sanctioned by papal authority, and determining the rule of election for the future.

That charter[a] recorded:

(*a.*) The sanction of pope Alexander III. to the election of bishop Reginald, by act of the Wells chapter alone, in 1174.

(*b.*) The papal confirmation of the rights of the Wells chapter to be the sole electors, but also the decree that a settlement with the chapter of Bath for joint election should be made.

(*c.*) That settlement, as exhibited in the process of election of bishop Jocelin in 1206.

The canons of Wells appear to have trusted to the strength of these authoritative precedents, and not to have anticipated any independent action on the part of the chapter of Bath on the death of bishop Jocelin.

But the Bath chapter had determined to attempt the recovery of their

[a] Vide Appendix A.

position by securing the election of a nominee of their own to the see as soon as vacant.

Reverting to the evil tradition of success in the election of Savaric by secret diplomacy, without the knowledge of the Wells chapter, they thought by a like surprise to secure the election on this occasion before the chapter of Wells was prepared to act.

Jocelin died on the vigil of St. Edmund, king and martyr, November 19. November, 1242.
That day was marked by a violent storm, which Matthew Paris[a] thinks worthy of record, when the Thames burst its banks, and boats were plying in Westminster Hall. It was a day of letting out the waters of strife between the two chapters of Bath and Wells.

While the canons were laying Jocelin in his grave in the middle of the choir of the church of Wells, the Bath monks, acting with the secrecy and promptitude of a small and united executive, had already sent a deputation to the king, then at Bordeaux, to obtain for themselves alone the licence to elect.

On November 22, the Saturday after the feast of St. Edmund, a deputation was sent by the chapter of Wells to Bath: the two archdeacons, William of Bytton, archdeacon of Wells, Walter de St. Quintin, archdeacon of Taunton, and William of Maidstone, canon and proctor, to announce the vacancy, and to arrange for joint action in the coming election. They were received with coldness, and pretexts for delay were made. Finally, they discover that the Bath chapter had already acted independently. They protest, and threaten appeal to Rome.[b]

The public protest of the chapter is put out after their return by the canons resident, on the feast of St. Lucia, December 13.[c]

Nearly a month, however, had passed before the non-resident members of the chapter, summoned from the different parts of the diocese, are gathered together on December 19, nominally to proceed to the election of a bishop, but warned that they are summoned hastily to take action against the plots of the Bath monks. Again they send a deputation to Bath, to remonstrate and protest; their proctors, Hugh de Romenal, the subdean, and Luke de Membury, with four vicars, Richard of Bytton, John of Chard, William of Brugges (Bridgwater), and David, a clerk. The subdean reads the letters of the chapter in the hall, before the prior and some of the monks, but to no purpose. They heard, but did not listen; or

[a] *Hist. Angl.* iii., 467 (R. S.); *Chr. Maj.* iv., 330.

[b] R. i., f. 73.

[c] R. i., f. 75

listening, did not answer. "Again and again, yea, thrice," the subdean remonstrates and warns against separate and illegal action. The monks were content silently to await the result of their diplomacy, and the canons return again fruitless. Then the chapter in council make their united protest, and take action. They appoint the dean, John Sarracenus, a nominee of Rome and one of the pope's chaplains, and canon Robert de Marisco as proctors, to act for the chapter in petitioning the king for the *congé d'élire*, and for carrying the appeal to Rome. They write letters to influential friends in England, to Walter de Gray, a canon *(fratrem et concanonicum)*, archbishop of York and chancellor, to the bishop of Caerleon, one of the council of the regency, and to Sylvester de Everdon, also a canon, the keeper of the exchequer (*custos scaccarii*). They commission Philip de Gildeford, a canon, to carry the letters from the chapter to the king, and he is instructed to obtain the help of Peter Chaceporc, Hugh de Vivone, and Godfrey de Ulward, men about the king.[a]

January 1242-3. Meantime, members of the Bath deputation were already at Bordeaux, and the king had granted to them the *congé d'élire* on January 6. As soon as the king's letters arrived in Bath on January 30, the monks send formal notification to the canons that the election of the bishop will take place at Bath on February 6. The canons are invited to be present and to hear the nomination, 'though,' say the monks, 'the canons have no rights there by law or custom, and by this invitation they do not mean to derogate from their own rights, nor to attribute any rights to the canons of Wells in the election.' "Oh the intolerable insolence of these shameless monks," is the outburst of our chronicler—"Tanta erat impudentissimorum monachorum effrenata et intolerabilis insolentia."[b]

February 1242-3. Notwithstanding, the canons once more with much meekness and forbearance, on the Feast of St. Agatha (February 5), the day before the meeting, write letters asserting their equality of rights in the election, their protest against the separate action of Bath, and their appeal to the apostolic see, and "by the advice of some good men, in the hope of preserving the peace of the two churches, they a third time send their proctors, and with them the three archdeacons, to arrange some common action." Again they are treated with cool contempt, the prior refuses conference. They present themselves at the hour of vespers at the door of the choir, begging that they might address the assembled convent. This is refused by those named as prominent among their adversaries, Master Robert of Thetford, Henry of Bath, and Simon the physician. The monks are made to file out from

[a] R. i., f. 73, 74, 75.

[b] R. i., f. 75. Archer, f. 139

the church into the cloister, the doors of the choir are shut in the faces of the canons, and they are left protesting before the precentor and two servants of the convent. Next morning (February 6) the monks invite the canons to join in the election; they indignantly refuse. Then, in a scene which must have been exciting, the monks proceed to the election; the precentor excommunicates those who would impede the election; the canons protest to the last. The monks nominate as bishop-elect Roger, precentor of the church of Salisbury, and announce that they present him as elect to the king. Forthwith, the Wells proctors proceed to Salisbury to lay their case before the chapter of Salisbury, and to implore the precentor not to accept this illegal nomination. There, after much altercation, the precentor cautiously replies to their question, that he will wait to see if he is canonically elected, and finally he accepts.[a]

So ended the first act; by sharp practice and high-handed effrontery the monks had so far carried the day. The canons might have taken to themselves the promise "the meek spirited shall possess the earth." But they had other resources. The papal see was now vacant, and in anticipation of the papal election the canons gird themselves for the struggle with their adversaries in the Roman chancellery. A chapter is summoned for the first Monday in Lent, February 27, to consult on the state of affairs and the urgent needs of the church. Letters are written to the dean announcing the citation of the chapter, describing the fraudulent action of the chapter of Bath, urging him to use his best endeavours at Bordeaux that the king shall not confirm the election of Roger pending their appeal to Rome, and finally to work for their interests in the Roman Curia, of which "he knew the ways better than they did." They send the subdean to consult with William of York, provost of Beverley, a man of wise counsel and a brother and fellow canon, and they write letters to the king himself, imploring him not to confirm the Bath election.[b] The king throughout held himself neutral between the two parties. He had given the *congé d'élire* to Bath in January "saving the rights of the chapter of Wells." About the same time he had written to the chapter of Wells that he had no intention of interfering with the rights of the dean and chapter, and invited their application to him in turn.

In March the dean and Robert de Marisco were at Bordeaux, and on March 10 the king writes to the chapter of Wells that he has given to them the *congé d'élire* "if it could be without prejudice to the rights of Bath," and he recommends them to make choice of a fitting person useful to the state.[c]

On April 25th the king's writ had arrived at Wells, and with it a letter, dated April, 1243.

[a] R. i., f. 65. [b] R. i., f. 76, 77. [c] R. i., f. 78.

March 24, brought by canon John of Dyrham, in which the king promises that he will do nothing to the prejudice of the chapter during the appeal.

It was now the turn of the canons to make boast of the king's licence to elect. They notify formally to the chapter of Bath that they had received letters from the king empowering them to elect, and they summon the monks to Wells for Trinity Monday (June 8) as the day of election, but if the time and place is not convenient they will meet their deputation at Ferenton (Farrington Gurney), the usual place of conference, on the vigil of St. Philip and St. James (April 30) to arrange.

Whether this communication was answered at all or not, the Wells deputation went out to Farringdon on the day they had named. It must have been a goodly company who on that spring morning rode up the Bath road and over the long back of the Mendip Hills. We have the names of the dignitaries and their followers. There were the two archdeacons of Wells and Taunton, Hugh the treasurer, the two proctors, their clerks, and their "vallets;" Nicolas the clerk, and Gilbert de Lentenay, vallet of the archdeacon of Wells; Master Robert de St. Quintin and Wileminus, clerks, and Vigeroys, vallet of the archdeacon of Taunton; David the clerk, and Dudeman, clerk and vallet of Henry the treasurer; R. de Guertrie, vallet of the subdean; Thomas, the huntsman (*venator*), of the late bishop Jocelin, and his vallet Henry of Priddy; Robert Marmion, *armiger* of the archdeacon of Wells.[a]

But not one of the Bath chapter was there to meet this goodly array of dignity. Doubtless the canons felt themselves flouted by the monks, but both parties knew well that they were making an empty flourish of the king's writ, and that the battle must be fought in the Roman court. The canons, trusting to their diplomacy at Rome, had no intention of acting on the king's *congé d'élire*.

June, 1243. There was a full meeting of canons in chapter on Trinity Monday, June 8, again summoned formally for the purpose of electing a bishop. First sentence of excommunication was pronounced upon all who should reveal the greater or lesser secrets of the chapter, especially upon any of the chapter who should maliciously impede the election, or should aid the adversaries, the monks of Bath.[b] Then they write a long letter to the king, and another letter to the queen,[c] full of gratitude, but respectfully declining to act on the king's licence and to proceed to election of the bishop, because they had made their appeal to the apostolic see

[a] R. i., f. 78 *in dors.*

[b] R. i., f. 64.

[c] The city of Bath was part of the queen's dowry. Rymer, *Fœd.*, i., 420.

against the unlawful action of the chapter of Bath. In a postscript they commend to the king's favour John Mansel, a canon, as a friend of the chapter, and beg for the king's gracious consideration of their case.[a]

On June 24, 1243, cardinal Sinibaldi, a Genoese, was elected pope, and consecrated on June 29, under the title of Innocent IV.[b] As soon as the news arrived at Wells, the chapter met on July 31, the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula,[c] to address the pope and to state their case. They notify that they have nominated as their proctors in the Roman chancellery the dean, John Sarracenus, and canon John de Offinton. A public notification is made at the same time of their appeal having been lodged at Rome. The proctors are implored to act with the greatest zeal in the cause of the chapter. The chapter empowered the dean to borrow first 100 marcs for expenses in the Roman court; then 100 more; and the sub-dean holds five deeds for a loan of 220 marcs. This is the first instalment of the vast sums borrowed in this litigation, which afterwards amounted to 2600 marcs. Letters are written by the chapter to powerful men at Rome, petitioning for their favour; we know the names of some, and the price of their assistance. Two cardinals are named: John de Colonna (de Columbariis), one of the most powerful of the cardinals, whom M. Paris[d] describes as "a vessel of pride and insolence," one of the papal champions against the emperor; another was Otho, the late legate apostolic in England in 1237. We shall find in the items of expenditure the honorarium of a cardinal entered as 50*l*.[e] During the autumn and winter of 1243 the decision of the pope is awaited, and there were frequent communications between the chapter and their proctors at Rome. In September of this year (*circa festum S. Michaelis*)[f] instructions are given very explicitly to the dean of the line he is to take and of the means he is to employ. The precedents contained in bishop Jocelin's charter, viz. the letters of pope Alexander III. and the instruments of Jocelin's election, were sent to the proctors. Resting upon these precedents, they say the chapter might have claimed the sole election, but they will be content if equal rights with Bath according to the precedents of Jocelin's election be secured to them. The proctors, accordingly, are to press urgently that the election of Roger shall be set aside, and that all safeguard be taken that in future

July, 1243.

September, 1243.

[a] R. i., f. 78, 9. [b] M. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* ii. 472. [c] R. i., f. 79.

[d] Vide *Matt. Paris, Hist. Angl.* ii., 479: "Vas superbiae et omnis contumeliae cui inter omnes cardinales genere, castris, et possessionibus secularibus erat potentissimus." He died next year, Feb. 9, the Octave of the Purification.

[e] R. i., f. 98. [f] R. i., f. 94.

the election shall be common to both the chapters. Divers suggestions are then made as to the best or most practicable course for securing freedom of election and perfect equality of rights. Arbitration is suggested, but to no one in England, "because of the power of the great men who will intrude themselves into any election." If it should be in France, let it be to the dean or chancellor of Paris; or to a commission appointed by the pope, of whom certain persons are named as acceptable judges, *e.g.* in England, the bishops of Worcester and Norwich; the bishop, dean, and archdeacon of Lincoln; the archdeacon of Sudbury in Norwich, or of Huntingdon in Lincoln diocese. If in France, to the provost of St. Adomar (St. Omer), in the diocese of Tournay (Morinensis), or to the dean and *magister scholarum* in the diocese of Noyon (Novionensis), or to the archdeacon of Rouen.

Four points, *quatuor articuli*, are specified on which they are to obtain the papal decision:

(*a.*) What should be the place of prior election?

(*b.*) And of installation?

(*c.*) What should be the style of the bishop?

(*d.*) Which of the two sees should have the priority?

These instructions are accompanied by a characteristic letter to the dean, which reveals the spirit in which they worked, and the importance they attached to the object. He is told to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness (*facere amicos de mammona iniquitatis*), and to spend money freely. "We love our honour more than our money," "and all our money is offered" to gain powerful friends in the court, in order that the adversary shall not prevail, and that a decision to the honour of St. Andrew, "who protects and will repay, may be obtained."[a] They give the dean leave to return when he has done all for the cause, and assure him of their gratitude (*grates copiosissimas*). At the same time they took the opportunity of putting into the hands of their proctors some other minor matters of litigation. They desire the appointment by the Roman court of the judges they have named to adjudicate their quarrel with Glastonbury and Athelney about neighbouring moors, and the ratification of Jocelin's arrangement of the union of the provostship of Combe and Winsham.[b]

April, 1244. The papal arbitrament came in April 1244. In a letter addressed to archbishop Boniface, and to the clergy and people of the diocese, the pope confirmed the

[a] R. i., f. 94.

[b] R. i., f. 96.

election of Roger. In another letter of April 1,[a] addressed to the prior and convent of Bath, the pope set forth generally in the preamble the solicitude of the holy see to cut off or shorten litigation, for the sake of the appellants. In this case, in order to avoid the evil of a protracted vacancy of the see, the election of Roger is confirmed. But to put an end to strife in future elections, it is decreed that from henceforth the dean and chapter of Wells shall have an equal voice and rights in all things appertaining to the election of the bishop.

This award was equitable and reasonable. Roger, the precentor of Salisbury, the nominee of the Bath chapter, was a good choice. He is described by Matthew Paris as a good man, a scholar and a theologian, *vir eleganter moribus et scientiâ theologiæ præditus*. The monk of St. Alban's implies that the pope was influenced in the speedy confirmation of Roger by the wish to provide for a kinsman in the precentorship he vacated, and that Martin the legate had laid hands on the precentor's benefice immediately on his nomination as bishop elect for some nephew of the pope.[b] The Wells registers give no authority for this gossip of the day.

The temporalities of the see were restored by the king to Roger, as bishop elect, on May 10, 1244, but he was not consecrated until September 11. September, 1244.

On September 11, Roger was consecrated bishop of Bath in the chapel of the convent of St. Mary, in Reading, where Jocelin had been consecrated nearly forty years before.[c] The chancellor, treasurer, and archdeacon of Wells, the subdean, and others of the canons were present. The pope's decree of award in the arbitration between the appellants was read. Innocent set aside the protest of the Wells chapter against the election of Roger, but reserved his answer to the questions on the four points, *quatuor articulos de formâ et modo eligendi pontifices*, for a future time. The mandate of consecration to William de Ralegh, bishop of Norwich, was then read.

The Wells chapter made their protest by their proctors against the installation of the bishop in the church of Bath rather than that of Wells, and appealed to the pope's decision on the four points of detail (*de quatuor articulis*).

Four months after, in January 1244-5, the result of the diplomacy of the Wells proctors at Rome appeared in the answer which came from the pope at Lyons on these four controverted points.[d] In a letter dated Lyons, January 3, 1244-5, addressed to the dean and chapter of Wells, the pope ordained: January, 1244-5.

[a] Quoted in Appendix C.

[b] Matt. Par. *Chr. Maj.* iii. 285.

[c] R. i., f. 80.

[d] Vide Appendix C. R. iii., f. 108, *in dors.*

(*a.*) That the throne of the bishop should be in each of the churches of Bath and of Wells;

(*b.*) That the election should take place in each church in turns, first, in Bath, the next time in Wells;

(*c.*) That the installation should take place in the same church in which the election had been held;

(*d.*) That the style of the bishop in charter and on seal henceforward should be "Bishop of Bath and Wells," *Episcopus Bathoniensis et Wellensis, utriusque ecclesiæ episcopus, nominetur Bathoniensis videlicet et Wellensis, et sic in sigillo contineatur ipsius.*

A few months passed, during which Roger had entered peaceably on his office.

But perhaps from fear of offending his supporters at Bath, who had promoted his election at such cost, the bishop had not yet added "Wells" to his episcopal style and seal. The Wells chapter made complaint to the pope that his mandate had not yet been carried out in this particular.

May 14, 1245. In May following Innocent wrote again from Lyons[a] a letter terse and peremptory addressed to bishop Roger, in which he reminds him of his former mandate, ordering the assumption of the full title of "Bath and Wells." He learns from the dean and chapter of Wells that the mandate in this particular has been disobeyed, and orders that forthwith the title of Wells as well as Bath shall be borne by him, and inscribed on his seal. Very soon after this the bishop must have adopted the double style. Charters and grants made by him occur in the registers dated early in the following year, as early as January 19, 1245-6,[b] in which he bears the double title of Bath and Wells.

Pacification of August, 1246. Acting still further on the tenor of this mandate, bishop Roger set himself to draw up a scheme of pacification,[c] by which the claims of the two chapters were finally conciliated, and their joint and equal action in each particular case most carefully adjusted. In a charter dated from Stawey in Chew, August 13, 1246, in which he officially assumes the title of "bishop of Bath and Wells," he recites his solicitude to cut off all further causes of controversy between the two chapters, and their joint engagement to abide by his mediation and award. He then cites the two bulls of pope Innocent IV. upon which his award was based, the one dated from the Lateran, March 23rd, 1244, the other from Lyons, January 3, 1244-5, and proceeds to make order for the joint action of the two bodies on equal

[a] Vide Appendix C. [b] R. i., f. 67. [c] Appendix B.

terms under all the possible occasions on which they will be called to co-operate in the election of the bishop, from the moment of the vacancy to the last acts in the consecration and installation.

The charter of pacification was formally accepted, signed, and sealed by the prior and convent of Bath on August 19, 1246;[a] and on August 26 (Sunday after the beheading of St. John Baptist), Thomas the precentor was sent over to Wells by the convent of Bath with the deed attested and confirmed in their chapter house.

So the long controversy was brought to an end—the *norma eligendi*, the process of election by the two chapters of Bath and Wells, was finally established, and thenceforth it was acted upon on all occasions. It held good without any further attempt on either side to evade or dispute conditions, until the dissolution of the convent of Bath in the sixteenth century. Wells was then left the sole seat of the bishop, the one cathedral church, but the title of the bishop remained unchanged to witness to the ancient primacy and continued importance of the city of Bath.

"So Roger," says our Wells annalist, "was the first of all the bishops who bore the title of 'bishop of Bath and Wells' (*Rogerus primus omnium Bathoniensis et Wellensis nuncupatus*)." So for the first time in 1246 the bishops who had borne in succession the title of "bishops of Somerset" from the time of Edmund son of Alfred to William Rufus, of bishops of Bath for a century and a half from John of Tours to the death of Jocelin of Wells, and for more than twenty years of that time were bishops of "Bath and Glastonbury" under Savaric and Jocelin, now and henceforward invariably assumed the double title from their twin churches of Bath and Wells, held under one pastoral staff, the two cities at the foot of the Mendip Hills on either side, where well forth the springs of life-giving and healing waters on the north side and on the south, like the famed fountains of Homeric lay:

"One, with hot current flows, and from beneath
as from a furnace clouds of steam arise.
The other," (the great fountain of St. Andrew at Wells,)
"like crystal clear, and cold as winter snows."[b]

[a] *Orig. Doc.* 45, 46, 47.

[b] Hom. Il. xxii. 149.

ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς
γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡσεὶ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·
ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ,
ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ, ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ.

I have sketched out the stages in the controversy, whereby the style and title of the bishop of the see were authoritatively determined. But the sketch is incomplete without a short notice of the enormous expense which this litigation must have caused to the two bodies engaged.

It may well be matter of surprise how these appeals to Rome could be carried on by small local communities, so great must have been the difficulties of travel, and the expenditure of money involved, in journeys by land and sea to and from Rome, in legal expenses in the Roman courts, in the purchase of support and favour of great men and influential ecclesiastics.

We have some little insight into the expenditure of this lawsuit in the chapter minutes of loans authorised, of debts incurred, and of the resources from whence the money was drawn for repayment.

The first mention of a loan of 420 marcs authorised by the chapter has been noticed in the letters addressed to the dean and proctor at Rome in September 1243.[a]

In the next summer, 1244, the dean probably was on his return home, and the chapter had appointed two fresh proctors, the archdeacon of Taunton Walter de St. Quintin, and Hugh de Romenal the subdean. They go out in October 1244, with authority to make a second loan, equal to £360 of our money,[b] and carrying with them the instructions consequent upon the consecration of Roger.[c]

October 8-10, 1244.

April, 1245.

In April, 1245, the dean returned to Wells, and gave into the hands of the chapter the letters and documents he had taken with him, or had received at Rome from the chapter; among others he produced the receipt for £50 from cardinal Richard,[d] as "a gift from the chapter," and two sets of letters from merchants at Florence about a loan of 200 marcs which had not been raised, and the letters withdrawn.

October, 1245.

Early in October the subdean, who had either come home or had delayed his departure for Rome, was sent to London bearing letters of credit for negotiation of other and larger loans to the amount of 1400 marcs to discharge debts at Rome and in the Roman courts, also to treat about another previous loan of 1200 marcs from merchants of Siena and Florence.[e]

So far the chapter seem to have been revelling in unlimited credit. Next month came the time for meeting their liabilities, and they did it manfully. On November 25, 1245, in a chapter in which dean and subdean, treasurer, and other

November, 1245.

[a] Vide p. 7.

[b] The loan was for £100, and 390 marcs—so estimated by Archer (f. 147) and that may be multiplied at least by fifteen or twenty, to give an approximate value in modern times.

[c] R. i., f. 95. [d] R. i., f. 98. [e] R. i., f. 98.

canons who had been employed in these transactions were present, the whole body of the canons was called to face the payment of a debt of 1775 marcs contracted in the Roman courts, payable in five years from the Feast of the Purification, February 2, following. They were asked severally if they consented to mortgage their own annual receipts from the chapter estate year by year, until this sum was paid. They unanimously assented, praying only for two conditions, that the surplus, if any, should be divided after payment of debt, and that the incoming dividend of 200 marcs in the next month from the new corn should be divided among the canons.[a] If the proportionate money value at the two periods is considered we realise how lavish had been the expenditure in this litigation.

We may glance at the sequel in the years after Roger's death. Two years later, or in the first year of the next episcopate, the chapter was again summoned to provide for "the intolerable debts" of the church. An assessment of one-fifth on all prebends for seven years was ordered, the goods of all defaulters to be distrained, and the persons excommunicated.[b] November 11, 1248.

Yet let us look on another fifteen years; the mortgage of the common fund of the chapter, the assessments on prebends, private gifts from local patriotism and devotion, the endowments of particular altars, had come in, to the recovery of the church, and in his last year bishop William of Bitton, in 1263, could thank God that the church was so nearly relieved from the late burden of debt that he could make over once again the sequestrations of vacant benefices which had been conceded to him, as to his predecessors, by the chapter for his lifetime, to the fabric fund of the chapter.[c] January 12, 1263-4.

The progress of the remarkable and rapid recovery of the church of Wells from the pressure of heavy debt belongs to another chapter in the history of the church of Wells, but when we are surprised at the cessation of work upon the fabric of the church for the time between bishop Jocelin and bishop Burnel, let us take into account the causes which had been at work to cripple the resources and consume the energies of both bishop and chapter in the intervening time.

Roger died December 21, 1247, and was buried at Bath. The monks carried to his grave the bishop whom they claimed as their own, the last bishop to be buried amongst them.

Both chapters had paid heavily. The monks of Bath had gained a barren victory in the election and consecration of their candidate. But the fruits of victory rested with the chapter of Wells. They had established their right to

[a] R. 1, f. 97. [b] R. 1, f. 69. [c] R. 2, f. 15 in dors. R. 3, f. 11 in dors.

equality in the election; and the bishop, whose illegal election they had opposed, became their patron to guard their rights from future invasion. Moreover, they had won over the bishop to admit their independent privileges and separate jurisdictions, and to confirm them in their estates. During the vacancy of the see they had found their strength, and had exercised their independence in the struggle to establish their rights alike against the rival chapter and the bishop. Under bishop Roger there was the first assertion by the chapter of that separate and co-ordinate power of jurisdiction in the government of the church which in no long time brought about collision between bishop and chapter.

Roger's short episcopate of three years was followed by the episcopate of William de Bitton, the archdeacon of Wells, and the leader of the chapter of Wells in the struggle with Bath, nominated by the Wells chapter, elected with all due and legal formalities by the two chapters without any attempt at opposition from Bath, and consecrated at Rome, June 14, 1248.

APPENDIX A.

Inspeximus. 1242. *Original Documents Nos.* 39, 40, 41. *Penes Decanum et Capitulum.*

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit J[ocelinus] Bathoniensis. W[illelmus] Exoniensis. et W[illelmus] Norwicensis Dei gratia episcopi salutem in Domino. Noveritis quod inspeximus quedam instrumenta autentica, et etiam ipsa originalia que nobis ex parte Decani et capituli Wellensis fuerunt exhibita, quorum transcripta prout inferius continentur de verbo ad verbum absque adjeccione et diminucione ad ipsorum peticionem presenti carte inseri fecimus in hec verba: Brewer 1224-44. De Ralegh 1239-1245. Recital.

Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filiis Decano Archidiaconis et Capitulo Wellensi salutem, et apostolicam benediccionem. Intelleximus ex litteris vestris, et ex testimonio plurium magnarum personarum. nichilominus innotuit nobis quod vos recepta libertate celebrandi eleccionem in ecclesia vestra dilectum filium R[eginaldum] Archidiaconum Saresberiensem unanimiter et concorditer in pastorem vobis et episcopum elegistis. Cum autem idem electus pro sciencia et literatura sua, et pro fervore devocionis quam circa nos et Romanam ecclesiam gerere comprobatur, carus nobis sit plurimum et acceptus, et conversacio sua se nobis commendabilem reddat, unanimitatem vestram et concordiam super hoc commendamus; volentes vos in proposito vestro stabiles et firmos existere, et in omnibus que spectant ad commodum et profectum ecclesie vestre, et prefati electi vestri inveniri unanimes et concordes. Unde quia predictum electum sicut virum providum et discretum, literatum et nobis valde devotum ferventer in Christo diligimus, et libenter quantum secundum deum possumus ad ejus commodum intendimus, et honorem, discrecioni vestre per apostolica scripta precipiendo mandamus, quatinus ei sicut electo vestro omni contradiccione et appellacione remota debitam obedienciam et reverenciam impendatis, et ejus monitis et mandatis humiliter et devote parere curetis. Ita quod ipse in vobis filialem subjeccionem inveniat, et nos obedienciam et devocionem vestram in hac parte debeamus non immerito commendare. Datum Anagnie. xiiij kalend. Maij. Ratification of Wells Election of Reginald. 1174.

Alexander episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis filiis, Decano, Precentori, Archidiaconis, et capitulo Wellensis ecclesie salutem. et apostolicam benediccionem. Justis filiorum ecclesie peticionibus nos convenit libenter annuere, et eas effectu prosequente complere, ut cum a sede apostolica quod racionabiliter postulant fuerint assecuti ei debeant omni tempore firmiori devocione adherere, et ejus honori et exaltacioni fervenciori studio invigilare. Eapropter dilecti in domino filii racionabilibus votis et desideriis vestris grato concurrentes assensu vobis et per vos ecclesie vestre canonicas consuetudines, libertates quoque et immunitates, et episcoporum vestrorum elecciones sicut eas a ducentis retro annis usque ad tempora bone memorie Johannis quondam episcopi vestri, qui sibi in bathoniensi ecclesia sedem constituit habuisse noscimini auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Ratification of Wells right of election

Ita tamen ut idem episcopo a vobis eligendo tractari debuerit ne inter vestram et predictam ecclesiam aliqua possit imposterum de eleccione controversia suboriri, vos et monachi ipsius ecclesiæ ad electionem tractandam, et faciendam conveniatis, et cum inde perfectam honestam et Agreement for joint action recommended.

ydoneam conveneritis, tu, fili Decane, secundum antiquam ecclesie tue consuetudinem ipsius electionis debeas sollempnem pronunciacionem habere, ut persona electa Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo examinanda et promovenda sine contradictione qualibet presentetur. Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum licet hanc paginam nostre confirmacionis infringere, vel ei aliquatenus contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignacionem omnipotentis dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Anagnie . vj. idus. Januarij.

Agreement.

¶ *Item pacem postmodum factam inter ecclesiam Wellensem et ecclesiam Bathoniensem super electione Episcopi sui inter eos communiter facienda:*

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti Amen. Facta est hec pax subscripta inter ecclesiam Bathoniensem . et ecclesiam Wellensem . et conventum Bathoniensem . et capitulum Wellense super electione pontificis utrique ecclesie prefitiendi vacante episcopatu. Videlicet quod cum secundum deum et consuetudinem regni de electione tractari debuerit prior et monachi Bathonienses, et Decanus et Canonici Wellenses, in loco ydoneo proper hoc convenient, et de electione futuri Episcopi communiter tractabunt. Et cum communiter in ydoneam personam convenerint, prior Bathoniensis debet denuntiare ex parte utriusque ecclesie, et postulare personam de communi assensu electam. Si vero prior Bathoniensis vel monachi, vel Decanus Wellensis, vel canonici, in electionem episcopi contra predictam formam in aliquo proruperint diffinitum est et concessum ex utraque parte quod irritum sit et inane quicquid fuerit ab eis contra hoc super electione attemptatum. Si vero partes communiter consenserint in personam prioris Decanus Wellensis ejus electionem debet denuntiare et postulare. Eodem modo convenit inter partes, quod si ecclesia Bathoniensis caruerit priore, tempore electionis quod Decanus Wellensis electionem illius in quem partes consenserunt denuntiabit et postulabit. Decanus vero et capitulum Wellense non impedient quo minus episcopus illorum prius in ecclesia Bathoniensi intronizetur quam in Wellensi, nec procurabunt quod prius intronizetur in Wellensi quam in Bathoniensi. Convenit etiam inter predictas ecclesias quod nunquam contra hanc formam pacis utentur aliquibus privilegiis impetratis vel impetrandis. Hec autem omnia fideliter observandas tam prior et conventus Bathoniensis quam Alexander Decanus et capitulum Wellense juraverunt. et sigillo utriusque confirmaverunt.

Election of Jocelin at Bath.

¶ *Item instrumenta utriusque ecclesie vacante tunc ecclesia Cantuariensi directa summo pontifici super electione domini Jocelini episcopi sui communiter inter dictas ecclesias facta, videlicet instrumentum ecclesie Bathoniensis in hæc verba:*

Sanctissimo patri et domino Innocentio dei gratia summo pontifici devotissimi sui Robertus Bathoniensis ecclesie prior et totus ejusdem ecclesie conventus salutem, et tam promptum quam debitum in omnibus famulatum. Cum pie recordacionis episcopus noster Savaricus viam universe carnis fuisset ingressus convenimus in unum nos et Decanus et capitulum Wellensis ecclesie ad quos una nobiscum episcopi nostri noscitur electio pertinere, ut de profitiendo nobis episcopo communiter tractaremus. Tandem vero post diutinam et diligentem deliberacionem communi omnium hinc inde voto et desiderio in Magistrum Jocelinum clericum ecclesie nostre et canonicum Wellensis ecclesie virum industrium litteratum et honestum vota nostra contulimus ipsum in pastorem, et episcopum animarum nostrarum invocata sancti Spiritus gratia

solempniter eligentes. Pedibus itaque vestre paternitatis provoluti quanta possumus devocione supplicamus quatinus eleccionem nostram concurrente tam cleri quam populi voluntate celebratam et principis assensu subnixam auctoritate apostolica confirmare dignemini, ne si ecclesie nostre diutius pastoris provisione caruerint irreparabilem quod deus avertat tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus jacturam incurrant. Ego Robertus prior . s[ubscripsi] ⁜ Ego Aluredus . s . + Ego Vicentius . s . + Ego Hamo . s . + Ego Hugo . s . + Ego Johannes subprior . s . + Ego Aurtianus . s . + . Ego Martinus Camerarius . s . + Ego Adam . s . + Ego Reginaldus . s . + Ego Ricardus . s . + Ego Willelmus thesaurarius . s . Ego Ricardus subsacrista . s . + Ego Willelmus . s . + Ego Anselmus succentor . s . + Ego Walterus . s . + Ego Serlo subcellerarius . s . + Ego Robertus granatarius . s . + Ego Walterus . s . + Ego Walterus . s . + Ego Nicholaus . s . + Ego Arnaldus . s . + Ego Urbanus cellerarius . s . + Ego Radulfus infirmarius . s . + Ego Robertus . s . + Ego Marchus . s . + Ego Willelmus sacrista . s . + Ego Walterus refectorius . s . + Ego Johannes custos operis . s . + Ego Johannes eleemosinarius . s . + Ego Robertus . s . + Ego Symon preeentor . s . + Ego Johannes tereius prior . s . + Ego Fulco . s . ⁜ Ego Willelmus . s . ⁜ Ego Hugo . s . + Ego Johannes . s . + Ego Walterus . s . + Ego Robertus . s . + Ego Johannes . s . ✠ In hujus itaque rei testimonium robur . et majorem firmitatem huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus.

¶ *Item instrumentum ecclesie Wellensis in hec verba:* Election at Wells.

Sanctissimo patri et domino karissimo J. dei gratia summo pontifici. Devotissimi sui Alexander Wellensis ecclesie Decanus . et totum ejusdem ecclesie capitulum. Salutem et tam promptum quam debitum in omnibus famulatum. Cum pie recordacionis episcopus noster Savarieus viam universe carni fuisset ingressus convenimus in unum nos et prior et conventus Bathoniensis ecclesie ad quos una nobiscum episcopi nostri noscitur eleecio pertinere ut de prefitiendo nobis episcopo communiter tractaremus. Tandem vero post diutinam et diligentem deliberacionem communi omnium hinc inde voto et desiderio in Magistrum Jocelinum canonicum nostrum virum industrium litteratum et honestum vota nostra contulimus ipsum in pastorem et episcopum animarum nostrarum invocata sancti spiritus gratia solempniter eligentes. Pedibus itaque vestre paternitatis provoluti quanta possumus devocione supplicamus quatinus eleecionem nostram concurrente tam cleri quam populi voluntate celebratam et principi assensu subnixam auctoritate apostolica confirmare dignemini ne si ecclesie nostre diutius pastoris provisione caruerint irreparabilem quod deus avertat tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus jacturam incurrant. Ego Alexander Wellensis Decanus . s . + Ego Willelmus [de Sancta Fide] 1185-1208 precentor Wellensis . s . + Ego .[a]H . Wellensis Archidiaconus . s . + Ego .[b]R . Cancellarius Wellensis . s . + Ego . T . Thesaurarius Wellensis . s . + Ego W . Cancellarius domini Regis . s . + Ego .[c]P . Archidiaconus Bathoniensis . s . + Ego .[d]W . Archidiaconus Tantoniensis . s . + Ego .[e]T . Subdecanus Wellensis . s . + Ego .[f]A . Succentor Wellensis . s . + Ego Abbas Beccensis Canonicus Wellensis . s . + Ego Abbas Muchelnensis Canonicus Wellensis . s . + Ego . R . Archidiaconus Wyntoniensis . s . + Ego Magister . R . de Lechel[ade] . s . + Ego Stephanus

[a] Hugh de Welles 1204-10. [b] ? Richard de Kenelworth. [c] ? Peter.
[d] William de Wrotham 1264. [e] Thomas de Dinan 1199. [f] Adam ?

Ridel . s . + Ego Magister Amandus . s . + Ego . P . Canutus . s . + Ego . J . Chauvel . s . + Ego . T . de Lond[on] . s . + Ego Reginaldus Butun . s . + Ego Magister . W . de Tantonia . s . + Ego . R . de Tresgoz . s . + Ego Magister . T . de Heselle . s . + Ego . S . de Elmeham . s . + Ego . T . de Torcaco . s . + Ego . H . de Welles . s . + Ego . J . Capellanus . s . + Ego . P . de Inglesh̃ . s . + Ego . A . Scottus . s . + Ego Hugo de Wylt̃ . s . + Ego Arnisius de Constantiis . s . + Ego Mauricius de Berkele . s . + Ego Johannes de Bohun . s . + Ego Iterus de Wandesti . s . + Ego Philipus de Lucy . s . + Ego . R . de Tymbresb̃ . s . + Ego . R . preciosus . s . + Ego . R . de Staweya . s . + Ego . R . de Camera . s . + Ego . W . de Sarum . s . + Ego . H . de Wyflescumba . s . + Ego . A . Lugdunensis . s . + Ego . H . de Berkele . s . + Ego . T . de Cycestria . s . + Ego . J . de Rames̃ . s . + Ego Magister . R . de Wyltoñ . s . + Ego . T . de Dundeñ . s . + Ego . W . de Dinre . s . + Ego . J . de Calna . s . + Ego . R . de Bathonia . s . + Ego . N . de Welles . s . + Ego . H . de Traco . s . + Ego . R . de Berc̃h . s . + Ego . R . de Sanf . s . + Ego . S . de Torn[aco] . s . + Ego Willelmus de Cerda . s . + . In hujus itaque rei testimonium robur . et majorem firmitatem huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus.

¶ *Item litteras testimoniales quorundam Episcoporum Anglie super eleccione sic communiter facta summo pontifici directas in hec verba :*

Sanctissimo in Christo patri J . dei gratia summo pontifici. Humiles et devoti filii sui W . de Londoñ G . Roffensis H . Exoniensis H . Saresberiensis E . Elyensis G . Coventrensis M . Wygorniensis J . Norwicensis W . Lincolniencis S . Ciccstrensis et . P . Wyntoniensis Episcopi salutem et cum omni devocione ac reverentia debitam domino et patri obedientiam. Noverit sancta paternitas vestra quod cum venerabilis frater noster Savaricus bone memorie Bathoniensis episcopus concessisset in fata et tam Bathoniensis quam Wellensis ecclesia sua fuisset viduata pastore, Prior et conventus Bathoniensis et Decanus et capitulum Wellense ad quos jus eligendi episcopum pertinere dinoscitur in unum pariter convenerunt, . habitaque prout moris est super eleccione episcopi diligenti tractatu, pari tandem voto et unanimi assensu in magistrum Jocelinum canonicum Wellensis ecclesie virum providum, litteratum et honestum, consenserunt ipsumque invocata sancti Spiritus gratia, in pastorem et episcopum suum canonice et solempniter elegerunt. Cui nimirum eleccioni illustris rex Anglie Johannes suum adhibuit benignus assensum. Quia vero Cantuariensis ecclesia suo noscitur orbata pastore supplicamus sancte paternitati vestre quatinus nuntios dictarum ecclesiarum benignius admittentes prenominato electo munus confirmacionis conferre dignemini.

¶ *Item similiter litteras testimoniales eorundem episcoporum directas super hoc domino . J . Sancte Marie in via lata diacono cardinali tunc venienti legato in Angliam in hec verba :*

Venerabili patri et domino karissimo J . dei gratia Sancte Marie in via lata diacono cardinali apostolice sedis legato W . Londoniensis G . Roffensis H . Exoniensis H . Saresberiensis E . Eligensis G . Coventrensis M . Wygornensis J . Norwicensis W . Lincolniensis S . Ciccstrensis et P . Wyntoniensis Episcopi salutem et sincere devocionis affectum. Noverit paternitas vestra . quod cum venerabilis frater noster Savaricus bone memorie bathoniensis Episcopus concessisset in fata . et tam Bathoniensis quam Wellensis ecclesia suo fuisset

viduata pastore, prior et conventus Bathoniensis et Decanus et capitulum Wellense ad quos jus eligendi episcopum pertinere dinoscitur in unum pariter convenerunt, habitaque prout moris est super electione episcopi diligenti tractatu . pari tandem voto et unanimi assensu in magistrum Jocelinum canonicum Wellensis ecclesie virum providum litteratum et honestum consenserunt ipsumque invocata spiritus sancti gratia in pastorem et episcopum suum canonice ac sollempniter elegerunt, cui nimirum electioni illustris rex Anglie Johannes suum adhibuit benignus assensum. Quia vero Cantuariensis ecclesia suo noscitur orbata pastore supplicamus paternitati vestre quatinus nuntios dictarum ecclesiarum benignius admittentes . prenominato electo munus confirmacionis conferre dignemini.

¶ *Item litteras domini regis super assensu suo dicte eleccioni prestito directas domino . J . Sancte Marie in via lata diacono cardinali . tunc venienti legato in Angliam, qui omnibus predictis instrumentis receptis et visis vacante tunc ecclesia Cantuariensis vice domini pape dictam eleccionem sic communiter factam confirmavit. Tenor vero predictarum litterarum domini regis talis est :*

King's missive.

Venerabili patri in Christo J . dei gratia sancte Marie in via lata diacono cardinali et apostolice sedis legato J . eadem gratia Rex Anglie dominus Hybernie Normannorum et Aquitanorum comes Andegavorum salutem et debitam cum devocione reverentiam. Mittimus ad vos dilectum et fidelem nostrum magistrum Jocelinum ecclesie Wellensis canonicum a decano et capitulo Wellensi et priore et conventu Bathoniensi ad regimen episcopatus Bathoniensis de assensu nostro canonice et sollempniter electum paternitati vestre supplicantes quatinus eleccionem suam confirmare velitis. Teste Domino P . Wyntoniensi episcopo apud Dokemerfelde, xx°iii° die Aprilis.

Commissioners warranty under seal.

In omnium vero predictorum testimonium presenti scripto sigilla nostra apponi fecimus. Datum Mense Julii Anno incarnacionis dominice Millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo secundo.

On the flap: W. scripsit.

APPENDIX B.

Pacification. 1246. *Original Documents penes Decanum et Capitulum.* *Nos.* 45, 46, 47.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. Th. Prior et Conventus Bathoniensis salutem in domino.

Litteras venerabilis patris domini Rogeri Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcopi nostri super reformacione pacis inter nostram et Wellensem ecclesias inspeximus in hec verba.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. Rogerus miseracione divina Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcopus salutem in domino sempiternam.

Mediator Dei et hominum dominus Jhesus Christus a patre procedens sibique coeternus et consubstantialis existens, ut nos primorum prevaricacione parentum dampnatos a potestate seductoris eriperet, et summo patri genus reconciliaret humanum in se inmortalis existens et impassibilis, homo factus se passibilem exhibuit et mortalem, et demum voluntariam resolutus in mortem professionis diverse fidei christiane rectores instituit. ut sicut ipse semper cum patre unus extitit non divisus, nos in fidei et caritatis unione conservent, hos quidem juditiali gladio reprimentes, illos suavitate moderaminis demulcentes.

Both chapters consent to award.

Nos igitur licet immeriti in partem hujus sollicitudinis evocati que jam premisimus sollicitius attendentes, et pii magistri doctrinam pacificam totis viribus amplectentes, questiones quasdam et . controversias pridem subortas earumque materias inter ecclesias Bathoniensem et Wellensem quibus disponente domino presidemus amputare penitus affectantes, de consensu et voluntate dilectorum in Christo filiorum Prioris et Conventus Bathoniensis et Capituli Wellensis qui ordinacionibus apostolicis super electionem pontificis prefitiendi ecclesiis memoratis communiter inter ipsas ecclesias perpetuo fatienda ipsamque electionem contingentibus per Decanum et Capitulum Wellensem impetratis ac promulgatis salvis et in suo robore per omnia duraturis a quibus Capitulum Wellense sollempniter et publice tam viva voce quam per litteras suas patentes se per tractatum ordinacionem supposicionem dicto vel facto seu etiam quocumque alio modo in nullo velle recedere protestati sunt consimili a Priore et Conventu Bathoniensi super ordinacionibus supradictis protestacione premissa. Quibus etiam protestacionibus salvis per omnia super inferius annotatis se provisioni et disposicioni nostre subjecerunt. Quibus ordinacionibus apostolicis ab Innocentio papa quarto per Johannem Sarracenum Decanum et Capitulum Wellensem impetratis una videlicet sub datum Laterani decimo Kalendarum Aprilium, pontificatus ejusdem anno primo, alia vero sub datum Lugduni tercio Nonarum Januarii pontificatus ejusdem anno secundo, sicut nec possumus obviare nolentes, sic inter dictas ecclesias in nomine domini nostri Jhesu Christi providendum duximus et disponendum, videlicet quod utraque ecclesia denuntiet alteri quando primo sciverit Episcopatum vacare, item major illius ecclesie presens in qua occurrit electio ea vice fatienda denuntiabit cum qua convenit et fieri poterit celeritate Capitulo illius ecclesie in qua non fuerit adtunc electio fatienda diem quo debeant convenire apud Ferntoñ per procuratores suos litteratorie constitutos ad ordinandum hinc inde procuratores suos ad curiam domini Regis sine more dispendio destinandos pro petenda communiter licentia eligendi, qui simul eant veniant ad dominum Regem petant et redeant termino competenti tunc ibidem ab eisdem communiter statuendo quo dominum Regem possint adire et utraque pars eat sumptibus ecclesie sue cum litteris procuratoriis ecclesie sue in quibus contineatur quod procuratores suos propriis nominibus eorum expressis destinant ad dominum Regem una cum procuratoribus alterius ecclesie similiter propriis nominibus eorum expressis ad petendum communiter ab eodem licentiam eligendi prout ad utramque ecclesiam similis spectat electio, et hoc ipsum coram domino Rege

Papal bulls on the case.

Award.

pariter protestentur litterasque suas simul domino Regi presentent, hujus tamen peticionis pronuntiacionem et priorem litterarum suarum porrectionem habeat procurator illius ecclesie in qua tunc fuerit eleccio fatienda. Licentia vero eligendi optenta, major presens illius ecclesie in qua ea vice non fiet eleccio per litteras Capituli sui denuntiabit Capitulo alterius ecclesie sine more dispendio diem certum quo convenient procuratores utriusque ecclesie loco superius assignato ad providendum communiter certum terminum competentem, ad quem et infra quem utraque ecclesia omnes de Capitulo suo in regno existentes qui eleccioni interesse debent volunt et possunt faciant et valeant commode convocari. Cum autem partes die et loco sic sibi ad eligendum prefixis convenerint, invocata Spiritus sancti gratia secundum formam canonicam quam eis Deus tunc inspiraverit communiter ad eleccionem procedant. Quod si forte primo die eleccioni faciende prefixo partes non poterunt concordare cum communi accione trium vel quatuor dierum secundum quod fuerit necesse procedant donec per aliquam formam canonicam eleccio vel postulacio ibidem fuerit celebrata. Eleccio itaque celebrata major ejusdem ecclesie presens et potens ibidem incipiat *Te Deum laudamus*, et dicat collectam que fuerit dicenda super electum. Idemque sollempniter denuntiet clero et populo sicut negocii series se habet fideliter nomine utriusque ecclesie eleccionem factam, assistente sibi tunc ibidem majore alterius ecclesie leganturque ordinaciones papales tunc ibidem et hec eadem scriptura. Decretum autem eleccionis incontinenti communiter et sollempniter unum fiat loco quo tunc celebrata fuit eleccio, et ibidem mox post publicacionem consignetur sigillo ejusdem ecclesie, et cum celeritate qua fieri poterit per nuntios communes utriusque Capituli fideles transmittatur ad alteram ecclesiam in qua ea vice non fit eleccio sigillo statim illius ecclesie consignandum, et sub sigillis ipsorum procuratorum inclusum fideliter conservetur nisi quotiens communiter necesse fuerit illud presentari vel exhiberi iterato sub sigillis procuratorum recludendum et conservandum per procuratores ecclesie in qua tunc non fit eleccio usque ad necessariam ipsius exhibicionem. Presentetur autem eleccio celebrata domino Regi per procuratores et litteras procuratorias utriusque ecclesie . et in utrisque litteris fiat mencio de communi eleccione et presentacione, cujus presentacionis pronuntiacionem et priorem litterarum suarum porreccionem habeat procurator illius ecclesie in qua tunc non fiebat eleccio simul tamen eant veniant ad dominum Regem et redeant . et cetera fiant ut supra in peticione licentie eligendi scriptum est, et super assensu regio optento super eleccione facta et de persona electa nomine utriusque ecclesie impetrentur littere regie dirigende domino Cantuariensi, vel alii presidenti et confirmandi protestatem habenti. Quod si eleccioni dominus rex suum assensum adhibere distulerit vel denegaverit nomine utriusque ecclesie et sumptibus et per procuratores earundem prosecucio dicti fiat negocii hujusmodi sumptibus et aliis quibuscumque circa eleccionem vel ipsius eleccionis negocium qualitercumque contingentibus factis et fatiendis ab electo confirmato vel consecrato, et possessionem temporalium optinente . utrique ecclesie reddendis. Item fiat presentacio electionis electi et decreti domino Cantuariensi vel alii presidenti et confirmandi

potestatem habenti . et peticio confirmacionis eiusdem ab eodem simul per procuratores utriusque ecclesie. Quam peticionem et decreti presentacionem primo fatiat procurator illius ecclesie in qua ea vice eleccio facta fuit. Examinenturque super eleccione et electi persona et meritis ijdem procuratores et alii qui fuerint presentes de utraque ecclesia. Et si fuerit eleccio confirmata major illius ecclesie in qua non fuerit eleccio celebrata qui presens fuerit et potens incipiat *Te Deum laudamus* . et dicat collectam que fuerit dicenda super electum. Optenta itaque confirmacione fiat presentacio eleccionis confirmate et electi domino Regi prout superius scriptum est in presentacione eleccionis facte fatienda eidem, nonineque utriusque ecclesie impetrentur littere domini Regis super possessione temporalium optinenda, et fidelitatem fatiat electus domino Regi nomine utriusque ecclesie. Item neutra partium procurabit quocumque modo aliquod impedimentum quo minus altera partium admittatur ad eleccionem et ad omnia alia ipsam eleccionem contingentia prout ordinatum est per dominum papam et utrinque concessum. Item omnia que dicta sunt circa electionem observentur in omnibus et per omnia circa postulacionem si per postulacionem procedatur salvo jure canonico statuto circa naturam postulacionis. Procuret autem utraque dictarum ecclesiarum cum apud eam fuerit eleccio fatienda omnem securitatem et tranquillitatem in villa sua personis alterius Capituli illuc ad eleccionem venientibus et familie eorundem compescantque suos ab omnibus probris injuriis et contumeliis inserendis eisdem. Item fiat postulacio consecracionis a consecratore per procuratores utriusque ecclesie et nomine utriusque. Pronuntiacionem autem postulacionis predicte habeat major presens illius ecclesie in qua ea vice non fiebat eleccio assistente sibi majore alterius ecclesie qui presens fuerit leganturque tunc ibidem ordinaciones papales et hec scriptura. Item professionem suam fatiat electus nomine utriusque ecclesie. Item in examinacione in consecracione sua et in aliis contingentibus ipsam consecracionem stet a dextris electi major illius ecclesie qui presens fuerit in qua illa eleccio facta non fuit, et major alterius ecclesie presens a sinistris. Item offitia episcopalia vicissim et successive fiant in ipsis ecclesiis, ut synodi, ordinum ordinacio, et crismatis consecratio, quantum in Capitulis est ipsis contrarium non procurantibus. Item in synodis et in aliis congregacionibus publicis in dyocesi fatiendis, Prior Bathoniensis sedeat a dextris Episcopi Wellensis et Decanus a sinistris, Bathoniensis e converso, in aliis vero locis cum convenerint pro disposicione Episcopi. Item quod cape abbatum benedicendorum alternatim et successive cum professionibus suis ipsis ecclesiis conferantur, et professiones ipsorum semper fiant nomine utriusque ecclesie. Item quod nec prebende Wellenses antique, nec de novo inprebendate seu ecclesie commune Wellensis, sed nec ecclesie spectantes ad jurisdictionem Decani et Capituli vel alicujus canonici sequantur processiones Pentecostes ad loca in quibus monachi Bathonienses recipiunt oblaciones Pentecostes, nisi ille tantum in quarum possessione nunc sunt.

Hanc autem provisionis et disposicionis nostre formam utraque pars sibi recitatam sollempniter approbavit, et ad ipsam per omnia et in omnibus fideliter et bona fide

inter se perpetuo observandam, seque nullo umquam tempore in aliquo contravenire pro se et successoribus suis juramento in animas omnium et singulorum utriusque ecclesie corporaliter prestito per procuratores suos hinc inde per litteras patentes Capitulorum ad hoc ita jurandum . et ad hanc provisionem et disposicionem nostram admittendum et recipiendum spetialiter constitutos, se obligavit. In cujus rei robur et testimonium Prior et Conventus Bathoniensis et Capitulum Wellense una cum sigillo nostro presenti scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt. Actum apud Staweye In parochia de Chyv, Idus Augusti anno incarnacionis dominice millesimo ducentesimo. quadragesimo sexto.

Nos igitur predicte provisionis et disposicionis formam ratam habentes et gratam ei nostrum per omnia adhibemus assensum . et hoc presenti scripto nostro protestamur. In cujus rei robur et testimonium de communi consensu eidem sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum Bathonie in Capitulo nostro quartodecimo kalendarum Semptembrium anno incarnacionis dominice millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo sexto.

Endorsed:—Confirmacio provisionis. (*13th cent.*)
1246. Prior et Conventus Bathonie. (*15th cent.*)
Formula electionis Episcopi per Rogerum Episcopum. (*Late.*)

APPENDIX C.

Letters of pope Innocent IV.

1.—Add. MSS. British Museum, 15355, f. 116.

Innocentius etc. Priori et Conventui Bathoniensi.

Ann. i. Epist. 567.

Preamble.

1. Prolixa litis dilatio, pacis emula, nutrix discordie, comodi parca, larga dispendii, gladii judicialis ictum non sine litigantium jactura multiplici et gravi justitie lesione suspendit, exactrix quidem sumptuum, et laborum extortrix, sic ei veritatem implicite confusione processus involvit ut vix postmodum adhibita etiam attentionis manu sollicite audeat explicari propter quod sepius litigantes post expensas inutiles et labores inanes dampnum sustinent sui juris.

Unde sedis Apostolice providentia illud circa causarum strepitus quantum est in ipsa moderantie studium adhibet, ut prorogationis detrimento vitato post debite ventilationis examen vel juste mucrone sententie decidantur, aut amicabili sopiantur concordia, seu etiam meta ipsis equa provisione figatur quatinus partium parcatur sumptibus, quieti provideatur eorum et cuique jus suum integre conservetur.

Prayer of Wells chapter for cassation of Roger's election rejected.

2. Sane bone memorie Episcopo viam universe carnis ingresso vos dilectum filium nunc Electum vestrum, tunc precentorem Saresbericensem in Episcopum elegistis vobis tandem electionem nobis hujusmodi per Thomam et Gilibertum monachos vestros nuntios presentantibus eamque

petentibus confirmari, dilectus filius J. Sarracenus Capellanus noster Decanus Wellensis Ecclesie pro eadem ecclesia ex adverso respondit, quod cum contemptis eo et Capitulo Wellensi qui debebant de jure requiri et erant in possessione vel quasi una vobiscum Pontificem eligendi, predicta electio celebrata fuisset, confirmanda non erat sed potius irritanda.

Confirmation of Roger's election.

3. Nobis itaque ne diu maneret grex dominicus absque cura et Episcopatus ex longa vacatione grave in spiritualibus et temporalibus incurreret detrimentum, prefatum Electum eidem episcopatui sine cujuslibet prejudicio in Episcopum preficientibus, de plenitudine potestatis utriusque partis nuntii humiliter petierunt ut ne in posterum eum Episcopatum eundem vacare contingeret posset ex hoc super electione Pastoris litigium exhoriri previdere in hac parte paterna sollicitudine curaremus.

Provision for future elections.

4. Nos igitur futuris volentes obviare periculis omnemque litis materiam amputare, de fratrum nostrorum consilio ex eadem potestatis plenitudine, sic super his duximus providendum ut deceteto cum Episcopatus ipse vacaverit, vos et iidem Decanus et Capitulum simul electioni celebrande de Presule intersitis pares in hoc penitus existentes, ita quod utraque partium licet forte plures sint ex una quam ex altera parem et equalem in eligendo, postulando, et alias procurando eidem Episcopatui provideri habeat potestatem. Et si earum aliqua uni vel duobus ex ipsa super hoc commiserit vices suas illius vel eorum non minus valeant quam omnes relique partis voces, statuentes ut electionis processus aliter habitus sit omnino vacuus et irritus ipso jure, utrique ipsarum in aliis jure salvo videlicet vestri sit electio celebranda, in qua ecclesia Sedes esse debeat Cathedralis, et fieri habeat Pontificis installatio, et etiam cujus ecclesie sit Episcopus nominandus. Datum Laterani Kalendis Aprilis anno primo. (*March 23, 1244.*)

F. 153. 2.—Ann. ii. Epist. f. 185. (*Jan. 3, 1245.*)

Innocentius etc. Decano et Capitulo Wellensi.

After preamble reciting the former judgment of March 23, 1244:

Nos periculis futuris occurrere ac Bathoniensi: et Wellensi Ecclesiarum paci et tranquilitati plenius consulere cupientes . . . . . statuimus, ...

Ut cum Episcopatus ipse vacaverit, prima vice in Bathoniensi alia vero in Wellensi ecclesiis, et sic vicissim semper in ipsis Pontificis electio celebretur, et utraque Cathedralis existat. Ubi autem celebrata fuerit electio, ibi primo installetur Pontifex, et utriusque ecclesie Episcopus nominetur, Bathoniensis videlicet et Wellensis, et sic in sigillo contineatur ipsius. . . . . Lugduni iii Nonas Januarii anno secundo.

F. 235. 3.—Ann. ii. Epist. 556. (*May 14, 1245.*)

Innocentius sic. Bathoniensi et Wellensi Episcopo.

Cum juxta ordinationem nostram Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcopus debeas nominari, idque in tuo sigillo debeat contineri, tu hoc pro tue voluntatis arbitrio facere denegas, prout dilectorum filiorum decano et capitulo Wellensis exhibita nobis patefecit. Volentes igitur ut talia corrigas per teipsum fraternitati tue per Apostolica scripta firmiter precipiendo mandamus, quatinus juxta prefate ordinationis tenorem Bathonien et Wellen te nomines, et id apponi facias in sigillo. Mandatum nostrum taliter impleturus, quod super hoc aliter scribere non cogamur. Datum Lugduni ii. Idus Maii anno secundo.

VI.—*The Kalendar and Rite used by the Catholics since the time of Elizabeth.* *By the Rev.* John Morris, *S.J., F.S.A.*

Read February 28, 1889.

Accuracy in dating is of the first importance amongst the various contributions made by the antiquary for the use of the historian. The different commencements of the year and the introduction of the new style are well-known causes of confusion in dating events and documents; and it will perhaps not be devoid of interest if we now examine one portion of this large subject. The Catholics of this country in queen Elizabeth's time were in this matter in a peculiar position. They took their citizenship from England and their religion from Rome. The new style had been introduced by a pope, and for that very reason was not accepted in England; and indeed, apart from this, the kalendar had always been Church property, connected closely with fasts and feasts and prefixed to breviaries and missals, so that it would seem most probable that Catholics would follow the new style. On the other hand, it is plain that if they had done so they would have been exposed to a thousand practical inconveniences while living in the midst of a people who reckoned by the old style, and we cannot therefore decide the question *à priori*. Unfortunately proofs are not very numerous; but we will see to what conclusion we are brought by such proofs as we can find. And there will probably be some interest in the cognate inquiry when the English Catholics ceased to use the ancient Rites of Sarum and York, and in their stead adopted the Roman Rite.

The commencement of the year on the 1st of January and the change of style do not depend on one another; but as they were introduced together into

England, they are naturally associated in our minds, and practically we shall not be able entirely to separate them in the following discussion. We will, however, begin with the change of style.

Julius Cæsar believed the true year to be 365 days 6 hours; which is 11 minutes and some seconds in excess of the truth. He provided for the 6 hours by repeating the sixth of the kalends of March once in four years, whence every fourth year was called *bissextus*. Isidorus Hispalensis introduced the term "bissextile," by which leap-year is now known. It was a merited compliment to Julius Cæsar that the month *Quintilis* should be called by his name Julius, July. The name of *Sextilis* was changed to Augustus by that emperor, whose service to the kalendar was the amendment of an error made by the priests, who had misunderstood Cæsar's order, and intercalated a day in every third instead of every fourth year. September was renamed after Germanicus, and October after Domitian, but happily those names have not survived.

The Nicene Council in 325 fixed the vernal equinox on the 21st of March. If it had not been for Cæsar's miscalculation of the true length of the day, it would, of course, have continued so for ever; but by the year 1582, though the kalendar still marked the equinox on the 21st of March, it really was on the 11th. The error had accumulated to ten days; or, in other words, between the years 325 and 1582 there had been ten leap-years or intercalated days too many.

The belief in the sixteenth century was, that the excess of the Julian year over the true year amounted to one day in 134 years. Pope Gregory XIII. rectified the error of the past by omitting ten days; and he provided for the future by enacting that for three centuries after 1600, every hundredth year was not to receive an intercalary day, as by the Julian system it would have had, but the 4th hundredth year was to be bissextile. Thus 1896 will be leap-year, and then there will be seven ordinary years, 1904 being the next leap-year. According to the calculation of Gregory, it would be 26,800 years before the error of a day would have accumulated under this system.

But, according to *L'art de vérifier les dates*, this is not accurate, and the year is really 26 seconds shorter than Pope Gregory took it to be. This would bring about an error of a day every 128 years, instead of 134. The time will therefore come, if the world last long enough, when the Gregorian system of intercalation must be departed from, and a leap-year not provided for by Gregory will be omitted every 3600 years.

The Gregorian kalendar was approved by a bull of February 24, 1582. It decreed that the day following the 4th of October in that year should be the 15th

instead of the 5th. The famous St. Teresa died in the evening of that very 4th of October, and the 15th has become her festival.

The new kalendar was adopted on the day fixed in the bull by Spain and Portugal and part of Italy. France adopted it two months later, passing from December 9th to the 20th. The emperor and the Catholic States of Germany introduced the new style in 1583. After disturbances between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany, and especially at Augsburg, on account of the kalendar, it was agreed, after the peace of Ryswick in 1697, that the Protestants should adopt the reformed kalendar. This was carried into effect by the omission of 11 days between February 18 and March 1, 1700, *i.e.* 10 days *plus* the intercalary day of that year, which in old style was leap-year. Denmark, Holland, and the Protestant States of Switzerland adopted the new style about the same time. England accepted the Gregorian kalendar by Act of Parliament in the reign of George II., when it was enacted that the day following the 2nd of September, 1752, should be September 14. This change was very unpopular, and gave rise to the cry of the mob, "Give us back our eleven days." Russia still continues to observe the old style; and as it reckoned 1800 a leap-year, it is 12 days behind the rest of the world. If it keeps 1900 as a leap-year, it will then be 13 days out, and there the error will continue till the year 2100, if Russia holds out so long.

It is to be noticed that in the change from the old to the new style in any country certain days of the month were omitted but no day of the week was left out. Thus those who were observing different styles were keeping the same days of the week, though they were calling them different days of the month.

A cunning use seems to have been on one occasion made of the fact that a day of the month that was one day of the week in one style was another day of the week in the other style. Blackstone[a] says, that there is a method by which an English law-court can decide a matter of fact without a jury, called "trial by inspection." For instance, a court might decide the circumstances relative to a particular day past, by inspection of an almanack brought into court. The case he quotes is that of a writ of error from an inferior court, that of Lynn, and the error assigned was that the judgment was given on a Sunday. The judgment was dated Feb. 26, 26° Elizabeth. An almanack was brought into court, the 26th of February was ascertained to have been a Sunday, the error of fact was admitted, and the judgment was reversed. Curiously enough, Blackstone does

[a] *Commentaries;* London, 1783, vol. iii. p. 333.

not notice that in the 26th year of Elizabeth, 1583-4, the 26th of February old style was a Wednesday. In the new style, February 26, 1584, was a Sunday, and the party who wanted to quash the judgment pronounced against him at Lynn must have brought into court an almanack of the new style, printed on the continent the second year of the new style, and therefore all but the first almanack printed in accordance with it.

It is needless to say that if in addition to the day of the month the day of the week is also given, you can tell at once whether it is old style or new, as the two styles have different Sunday letters. So Mary queen of Scots wrote[a] her last requests to the king of France and dated the paper, "*Faict le matin de ma mort ce Mercredi huictiesme febvrier*, 1587." Now in 1587 the Sunday letter new style was D, and the 8th of February new style was a Sunday. The Sunday letter old style was A, and February 8 was a Wednesday. This shows that the queen of Scots, even when writing to the king of France, dated according to the old style. The year, it is to be noted, was called in England on the day of her death, 1586, but Mary calls it 1587. In doing so she was not following Scottish usages, for Scotland, which adopted new style in 1752 in union with England, changed the beginning of its year to the 1st of January in 1600 by proclamation made on December 17, 1599. But as this change was subsequent to Mary's death, she must have followed in this point the French computation. In 1563 Charles IX. published an edict that the year should commence on the 1st of January, which was accepted by the Parliament of Paris in 1567, at which time Mary was in Scotland.

Another instance of a date, exactly resembling that made use of by Mary queen of Scots, is given us by father Henry Garnet, in a letter preserved at Stonyhurst College. The letter is addressed to father Claude Aquaviva, the general of the Jesuits, to give him an account of the execution of father Robert Southwell, priest and Jesuit, poet and martyr. Father Southwell suffered at Tyburn, according to Stowe, on the 20th of February, 1594; according to Challoner and other Catholic writers, on the 21st. There is a picture of the martyr at Fribourg, and in the inscription the date of his death is given as March 3, 1595. This is, of course, new style, and counting back ten days we get to

[a] Labanoff, *Lettres inédites de Marie Stuart*, Paris, 1839, p. 200. Mary's will is dated "ce jourd'huy 7 febvrier 1587." The translation of Elizabeth's commission for the execution, dated Greenwich 1 Feb. 29 regni, is endorsed "Cette commission ainsi donnée, le septième jour ensuivant, qui etoit le 17 février selon le calendrier grégorien, dont aujourd' hui les chrestiens se servant," &c. *Ibid.* pp. 189, 198.

February 21 old style; and February 21 old style, and March 3 new style, were both Fridays; so that we have an independent authority giving a casting vote between Challoner and Stowe in favour of the former. Father Garnet's letter is dated the day after, "Londini, 22 Februarii, 1595"; where, as in queen Mary's case, the month and the day are old style, while the year is new style, or rather Roman.

We may now turn from the change of style to a somewhat fuller examination of the commencement of the year. Gervase, the chronicler in the twelfth century, describes to us the confusion that arose from the diversity as to the manner of reckoning the year. His words are these: "Amongst the writers of chronicles there is some dissension. For though they all intend to give the years of our Lord and the events that happened in them truthfully, they count the years in different ways, and thus introduce much confusion and falsehood into the Church of God. Some begin to compute the years of our Lord from the Annunciation, others from the Nativity; some from the Circumcision, and some from the Passion. Which are we to believe? The solar year, according to the Roman tradition and the Church's custom, takes its beginning from the kalends of January; and ends in the Christmas days, that is, at the end of December. Both computations cannot be right, when one begins the years of the Incarnation at the beginning, the other at the end of the solar year. Yet both give the same title to the years of our Lord, for they say that in the year so-and-so from the Incarnation such-and-such things were done. For these and like causes no slight dissension has arisen in the Church of God . . . . Almost all those who have written chronicles before me have taken the beginning of the following year from the Lord's Nativity . . . . I desire to follow my predecessors, and I begin the years from Christmas."

In consequence of this, Gervase places the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury in 1171, while its date, according to our computation, is December 29, 1170. The Venerable Bede says that the English began their year with Christmas, and a charter of Edward the Confessor gives an example: *Acta apud Westmonasterium 5 Kalendas Januarii die SS. Innocentium, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis 1066, Indictione III.* The king died ten days after this date, Jan. 5, 1066.

The statement of Gervase, himself a monk of Christchurch, Canterbury, and thoroughly well-informed, shows us that Mr. J. J. Bond, in his admirable "Handy-book," is too precise in saying that from the sixth century to the Conquest the year began at the Annunciation or at Christmas; from 1067 to 1155 on the 1st of January; and from 1155 to 1751 on the 25th of March. We can say definitely

when Lady Day ceased to be New Year's day, as we have an Act of Parliament to guide us; but we cannot date the beginning of this method of computation with such exactness as to say that it began in 1155, the accession of Henry II. Gervase is speaking of that very time, so that we must rather assume that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the custom of beginning the year on the 25th of March was gradually spreading, until it became universally prevalent.

It is worth noting that while the beginning of the year was so reckoned, the leap-years were counted by the solar year.[a] Thus Thomas Cecil wrote to his father, Lord Burghley, a letter now among the State Papers dated Feb. 29, 1571, and one of James I.'s proclamations is dated "Feb. 29, in the 17th year of our reign, 1619."

The curious fact may be added that papal bulls, and no other papal documents except bulls, are still dated with the year beginning on the 25th of March. Thus the very bull above mentioned, which approved the new kalendar, is dated Feb. 24, 1581 for 1582. And the bull of Urban VIII., suppressing the Jesuitesses, was issued on the 13th of January, 1630, that is to say 1631.

We have seen that Mary queen of Scots and father Garnet dated their letters by the day of the month in old style, though they were writing to persons abroad, who were using the new. We are safe, therefore, in assuming that amongst their fellow-countrymen Catholics used old style in the same way as their neighbours. They would otherwise have been involved in endless confusion. But it is not so easy to decide which style they followed for religious purposes.

It is possible that Easter was kept by the Catholics of England, and with it all the moveable feasts, on the same day that was observed by Catholics abroad according to new style. In a letter written by Dr. Toby Matthew, then bishop of Durham, to the lord high treasurer, to ask leave for a spy to frequent Catholic ceremonies without fear of being prosecuted for it, he says that the best time to catch the Catholics would be "between this and their Easter, being before ours." This letter is dated March 10, 1594-5. In that year Easter fell in the new style on the 26th of March, and in the old style on the 20th of April; that is, taking the ten days between the styles into account, new style Easter was thirty-five days before the other. As the rule for fixing Easter-day was the same in both styles, namely, the first Sunday after the first full moon on or after the vernal equinox, which was regarded as March 21st, it is plain that when the full moon fell on any of the ten days that intervened between the 21st of March new style and the

[a] Bond's *Handybook of Rules and Tables.* London, 1875, p. xvii.

same day old style, it was regarded according to the new style as after the equinox, and in old style before it, so that those keeping old style would have to wait for their Easter till after the next full moon.

Another element of disturbance in fixing Easter is to be found in this, that the days of the moon in the ecclesiastical kalendar, which are announced daily in the martyrology, are calculated according to the mean lunations, that is, the average period of the revolutions of the moon. The ecclesiastical new moons are thus sometimes nearly as much as three days out from the astronomical new moons. Besides, our new moons designate the first appearance of the crescent to the eye; but astronomically the new moon is its conjunction with the sun, when, of course, it is invisible to the earth, and this makes a difference of about a couple of days. This would cause a diversity of nearly a month in the observance of Easter whenever the astronomical full moon fell just after the equinox and the ecclesiastical full moon just before; and there would be the difference of a week when the astronomical full moon fell just before a Sunday and the ecclesiastical full moon after it. However, this is not very relevant to our present subject, as neither style calculated by the astronomical lunations.

Clearly Dr. Toby Matthew was speaking of the particular year in which he wrote, and of which he must have seen a new style kalendar; for he could not have meant to say that the Easter new style always preceded Easter old style. As a matter of fact, in the eighteen years from the introduction of the new style to the end of the century, seven times the two styles kept Easter on the same day; and on the other eleven years Easter new style came first. Thus in 1596 Easter-day was April 11 old style, April 14 new style, or a week earlier in new style than in the old, April 14 new style being April 4 old style.

Whether the bishop of Durham simply took for granted, without knowing, that English Catholics kept their Easter with their brethren on the Continent, or whether he had some positive information on the subject, his letter is not enough to establish this to have been their general usage, for it is contrary to every other trace that we have of the practice of that time. And first, a curious instance remains to show us that the remembrance of the old kalendar continued amongst the people even later than this. An old manuscript relative of the martyrdom of John Sugar, sent to bishop Challoner out of Warwickshire, says: "In the first year of the reign of king James in England, Mr. Burgoyne, a justice in the county of Warwick, on the 8th day of July, being Relic Sunday, sent a warrant to search the house of a Catholic dwelling in Romington for the apprehension of a seminary priest." It is true that an error has crept in here, for in 1603 July 10 was a

Sunday, and, what was more, according to the Sarum kalendar Relic Sunday, the third Sunday after Midsummer-day, must fall between the 9th and 15th of July, and never on the 8th; yet this error does not affect the point that concerns us, that in 1603 Relic Sunday was still remembered and spoken of as a date with which Catholics would be familiar.

Another example is the well-known case of father Henry Garnet, whom Sir Edward Coke at his trial accused of praying for the success of the Gunpowder Plot, by the use he made at Coughton of a verse of the hymn for the vespers of All Saints' day, 1605. Now, this was November 1, old style, as we learn from the evidence of some of Sir Everard Digby's servants, who accompanied Lady Digby to Coughton a day or two before. The hymn will have been said or sung openly in the family chapel, as father Garnet said that "the musician" was his accuser. The form of the verse quoted by Sir Edward Coke is from the Sarum breviary, and not from the Roman, which had been approved by Pius V. nearly forty years before. So was the form of the verse *Mater misericordiæ* used by Garnet at his execution. That execution too was on the third of May old style, and he said on the scaffold at St. Paul's: "Upon this day is recorded the Invention of the Cross of Christ, and upon this day I thank God I have found a cross." This was in 1606.

It was natural that the kalendar should have lived in people's memories, and they seem to have long persevered in the disciplinary practices that depended on the kalendar. There were the feast-days that were to be kept as Sundays, which for that reason were called holy-days, and besides, the fasting-days through the year. England had this peculiarity in old times that it had no abstinence-days which were not also fasts. These fasting-days were therefore more numerous in England than in other countries, as besides Lent, the Ember-days, the eves or vigils, two of the Rogation-days and St. Mark's day, all the Fridays throughout the year, excepting from Christmas to the Epiphany, and from Easter to the Ascension, were fasts.

In 1580, fathers Persons and Campion met for consultation "certain of the graver priests then remaining in London with divers principal laymen" at a little house in Southwark. On the point of fasting "the best resolution seemed to be, and most conformable to piety, reason, and union, that nothing should be altered in matter of fastings from the old customs; but in what shire soever of England (for all had not one custom, but the church of York some, and Canterbury and London others) the Catholics could remember that the Fridays or any other days or vigils were fasted, the same to be kept and continued now, and the priests

always to be the first and most forward to put it in execution; but when such knowledge or remembrance could not be had, then men not to be bound to fast, but yet commended, they that would; and this was so much as then seemed necessary to be spoken by way of counsel only, and not of commandment or authority, for direction of priests, for keeping of unity, until God should open the door for further determination by way of authority." Such is father Persons' own account of this interesting conference.[a]

Three years after this father Jasper Haywood furnishes a curious proof of how strongly the English clung to their ancient ways. On one of the Rogation days he was the guest of a gentleman whose wife was a Catholic and who himself was what the Catholics called "a schismatic"; one, that is, who went to the Protestant church but was a Catholic at heart. Father Haywood and the gentleman ate meat, the lady and others ate fish, and in consequence a discussion arose. Father Haywood argued the question against the English fasting days, and his host was so offended that he went out and brought back a copy of the Proclamation against the Priests. "Does that touch you?" he asked. "Certainly," answered Haywood; "but I am safe in your house." "That I have never promised you," said he; "and I am not so pleased with your way of living and thinking that I should risk my life and goods for you." Father Haywood was, in consequence of his want of discretion in such matters,[b] soon recalled from England.

The writer of a curious little book in the British Museum library,[c] the preface of which by I.B. is dated 1598, laments the falling off of the old observances. He says: "This slackness I perceived did grow upon divers occasions. Some pleaded ignorance: some omitted them of mere negligence: some fearing they should be accounted Papists. Few or none there were in those daies but thought it the safest way, and also sufficient, to keep such [feasts] as were then publicly bidden in churches by the ministers,[d] and none [were] then bidden by

[a] Stonyhurst MSS. Grene's *Collectan.* P. fol. 128.

[b] More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. iv. n. 11, p. 133.

[c] "A Treatise, with a Kalendar and the proofes thereof, concerning the Holy-daies and Fasting-daies in England. Printed with Licence."

[d] In the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536, one vicar in "the bidding of beads" on Sunday, October 15, did not give out St. Luke's day (18th) as a holiday, "and after mass," according to one witness, "they thought to have murdered him. Wherefore for fear of his life, he took the sacring bell into his hands, when they caused him to bid the beads again." On the previous Sunday, another witness declared, that "being in his parish church, when he heard the parish priest at the bidding of beads leave out St. Wilfrid's day (12th) for a holy day, he asked the same priest openly then why he did leave it out, for it was wont always to be a holy day there. And the priest answered that the same

them by the order of their books, but of those few saints which are expressly named in the Scriptures, al lawful pastors that would not follow their proceedings being displaced and many imprisoned; and some that otherwise were wel willing found it a great trouble and a matter of some difficulty in one family for some to keepe the holy daies and fasting daies and some others not. In conclusion, on the one side the Protestants rejected them as superstitious, and on the other side the Catholics waxed cold in these devotions; and some worldly-minded men were better contented with worke-daies than holy-daies. And yet I doubt not but al priests did their duties in saying the service of those feasts, according to their bookes, though they were not for that time commonly kept holy-daies." However, in spite of this writer's fears, the fast days continued to be observed as of old in England till in 1777 Pius VI. transferred the vigils through the year to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent, and in 1781 abrogated the Friday fast. Meanwhile the abstinence on Saturdays, the Rogations, and St. Mark which Pius VI. left in force as "a pious custom descending from ancient times," which abstinence Pius VIII. took off in 1830, must have been brought into England from the continent. Of old the first and last Rogations and St. Mark were fasting days, and of the latter I. B. gives us a racy "by-word," as he calls it, that "*S. Marke carrieth his fast upon his backe*, which can be verified by no other feast but that only, for the vigils of other saints doe commonly go before them."

The abstinence on Saturdays had been introduced from Rome. This with other changes we learn by a comparison of the book before us with the "*Calendarium Catholicum* or Almanack for 1689," nearly two centuries later. Both books speak with some authority for their respective times. I. B. says for himself that "to further my purpose, about the tenth year of the late Queene,[a] I happily entered into conference of studies in the country for a time with an auncient and learned priest, who had good store of church bookes and many others fit for that purpose, who had also great experience in such matters by reason he had lived in practice thereof in his benefice in Queen Marie's time." He gives as days that ought to be kept holy in England, and were beginning to be neglected,

feast and divers others were put down for divers causes by the pope's authority and the consent of the whole Clergy in Convocation. And as soon as mass was done, all the whole parish was in a rumour for the matter, and said they would have their holidays bid and kept as they had before, and so they had ever sinee." Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, London, 1889, vol. ii. p. 104.

[a] This seems to indicate that, though written in 1598, this treatise must have gone through the press after the death of Elizabeth in 1603.

"S. Nicholas his day; S. George his day; the two holy Roode daies; the Wednesdaies in Easter and Whitson weeke; Good Friday; and some charged to be rased out of al church bookes, as both the Translation of S. Thomas of Canterbury, and his feast in Christen-masse." By 1689 all these were gone into disuse except St. George and the Invention of the Cross; and "Mawdlen day, St. Mark, St. Luke, the Visitation and Conception of our Lady," given by I. B. in his table of holy days, had gone too. On the other hand, by 1689, St. Joseph, St. Anne, and St. Silvester had been inserted. The almanac of 1689 was "published by Henry Hills, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty for his household and chappell." When 1689 came, a Catholic almanac was not wanted for the chapel royal, as James II. ceased to reign on the 11th December, 1688. It is worth remarking that this almanac gives the Sundays as "past Trinity," which agrees with the Sarum kalendar, though similar almanacs for 1686[a] and 1687 reckon the Sundays "post Pentecosten" as in the Roman missal.

Prior to this date an old English custom had been recognised and permitted by Rome, though it was against the rubrics of the Roman missal and breviary. By those rubrics local octaves are not permitted between *O Sapientia* (December 17) and the Epiphany; but Urban VIII., on the 23rd of March, 1641, sanctioned "for the English and for those who visit their churches" the observance of the octave of St. Thomas of Canterbury, as it was "a most ancient English custom." The first feast granted expressly to England was that of St. Augustine, the apostle of England, on the 26th of May, with a proper mass and office. It was asked for, about 1722, by Bonaventure Gifford, bishop of Madaura and vicar apostolic of the London district; and the feast appears as a greater double in the supplement to the breviary, published in 1734 in London "*apud* Tho. Meigham *bibliopolam, via vulgo dicta* Drury Lane." This supplement contains the feast of St. George as a double of the first class with an octave, and, as this is antecedent to the decree next mentioned, it is probable that the feast of St. George was always kept as patron of England. A decree dated January 8, 1749, granted by Benedict XIV. at the request of his royal highness the cardinal duke of York, speaks of the following feasts as having been already granted to the English college at Rome and to the English province of the Jesuits, and it extended them to "all ecclesiastics of the English nation wheresoever living":

April 23. St. George, martyr, Patron of England, double of first class with an octave.
May 26. St. Augustine, Apostle of England, double of first class with an octave.

[a] This almanac has the chronogram *trIstItIa Vestra VertetVr In gaVDIVM. aLLeLVIa.*

Oct. 13. St. Edward, king, double of second class with an octave.
,, 21. SS. Ursula and Companions, martyrs, greater double.
Nov. 20. St. Edmund, king and martyr, greater double.
Dec. 29. St. Thomas, bishop of Canterbury, and martyr, double of second[a] class with an octave.

In the year 1765 a supplement to the missal and breviary was published, and in it we find a decree of pope Benedict XIV., dated January 2, 1754. This decree adds to the feasts mentioned above that of the Venerable Bede as a double on the 29th of October, with a proper mass and office. It begins thus: "*Ad pias preces . . . . (erga Ven. Bedam devotionis suæ perenne monumentum S. S. relicturi)*" etc. No doubt at that time it was not prudent to insert into a book that was to be introduced into England any mention of the Stuarts, but the words omitted evidently were *Serenissimi Jacobi III. Magnæ Britanniæ Regis*, and by *S. S.* we understand *subditis suis*, so that the feast of the Venerable Bede was asked for "by King James III. as a lasting monument to his subjects of his devotion" to that saint.

In 1774, by a decree of the Propaganda of the 21st of March, pope Clement XIV., at the request of the four vicars apostolic, from "the paternal charity with which he embraces those of the English nation who adhere to the communion of the Holy Roman Church," restored "the ancient custom, which had been intermitted on account of the state of the times," of celebrating the feasts of the following English saints—all as doubles, excepting St. Alban and the translation of St. Thomas, which are greater doubles:

Jan. 19. St. Wulstan, bishop of Worcester.
March 1. St. David, bishop of Menevia.
,, 2. St. Chad, bishop of Lichfield.
,, 8. St. Felix, bishop of Dunmow.
,, 20. St. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne.
April 3. St. Richard, bishop of Chichester.
May 19. St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury.
,, 25. St. Aldhelm, bishop of Shireburn.
June 8. St. William, bishop of York.
,, 22. St. Alban, proto-martyr of Britain.
July 7. Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.
,, 15. Translation of St. Swithin, bishop of Winton.
,, 17. Translation of St. Osmund, bishop of Sarum.

[a] In 1857 the custom was confirmed, which had prevailed at least from 1765, of keeping the feast of St. Thomas as a double of the first class by the secular clergy.

Aug. 31. St. Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne.
Oct. 3. St. Thomas, bishop of Hereford.
,, 10. St. Paulinus, archbishop of York.
,, 12. St. Wilfrid, archbishop of York.
,, 25. Translation of St. John of Beverley, archbishop of York.
Nov. 3. St. Winifred, virgin and martyr.
,, 14. Translation of St Earconwald, bishop of London.
,, 16. St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury.
,, 17. St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln.
Dec. 5. St. Birinus, bishop of Dorchester.

This decree mentions that, with the exception of St. David, whose feast was kept by the Anglo-Benedictine congregation, all these saints were described in the Roman martyrology, and that "almost all of them were contained in the very ancient kalendar and missal of the church of Salisbury, which was common to most of the churches of the English province." The mass and office of these saints were to be said *de Communi;* those for St. Augustine and St. Bede being the only proper ones so far approved for England. But by a rescript of Propaganda dated July 26, 1823, Pius VII. approved, at bishop Poynter's petition, of proper offices and masses for these English saints. The prayers were drawn from the old office books and the historical lessons are from the pen of Dr. Lingard.

In 1843 Gregory XVI. granted, at the request of Dr. Wiseman, then bishop of Melipotamus, various festivals that were kept in Rome, but there is no English saint among them. In 1847 Pius IX. made St. Gregory a double of the second class, and the Venerable Bede a greater double, and in 1853 St. Patrick a greater double. In 1854 the feast of St. Boniface on the 5th of June was granted to England and Germany. In 1860 St. Eleutherius, the pope who sent missionaries to England, was made a double. Very recently a considerable number of English saints have been added, whose proper offices and masses were prepared by the Reverend Father Stanton, of the Oratory. Decrees dated August 14, 1883, and November 26, 1884, granted the following feasts, as simples, semi-doubles, or doubles:

Feb. 3. St. Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury.
,, 11. St. Gilbert of Sempringham.
,, 12. St. Bennet Biscop, abbot.
,, 26. St. Ethelbert, king.
Mar. 3. St. Aelred, abbot.

April 17. St. Stephen, abbot.
„ 19. St. Aelphage, archbishop of Canterbury, martyr.
„ 24. St. Mellitus, archbishop of Canterbury.
„ 27. St. Egbert.
May 1. St. Asaph, bishop.
„ 13. St. Walburga, virgin.
„ 16. St. Simon Stock.
June 17. St. Botulph, abbot.
„ 23. St. Etheldreda, virgin.
2nd Sunday in July, Relic Sunday.
July 9. St. Willibald, bishop.
„ 30. St. Germanus, bishop.
Aug. 9 St. Oswald, king.
„ 18. St. Helen, widow.
Sept. 25. St. Ninian, bishop.
„ 26. St. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury.
„ 30. St. Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury.
Nov. 10. St. Justus, archbishop of Canterbury.
„ 29. St. Willibrord, bishop.

There are, besides, a few English saints who are kept locally: the translation of St. Cuthbert on the 4th of September was observed in the old northern district; St. Edward, king and martyr, is kept at Plymouth on the 18th of March; the translation of St. Edmund, at Portsmouth on the 9th of June. And further, the 4th of May has become since 1887 the feast of the English martyrs collectively, and the feasts of B. John Fisher, B. Thomas More, B. Richard Reynolds, B. Margaret Pole, and others, are kept on their own days in different localities.

A few words are requisite to indicate the manner in which the English rites gave way to the Roman. It shows the vitality of local customs that the old fasts and feasts should have survived amongst the English Catholics so long. But the use of the old rites of Sarum, York, or Hereford must have been confined to the queen Mary priests, of whom there could have been but few, if any, who survived queen Elizabeth. The seminary priests from Douay, Rome and elsewhere, by whom the Catholic religion was kept alive in England, will have all learned and used the Roman rite. We have an entry in the *Douay Diary* that dates for us exactly when the students there, under Dr. Allen's presidency, first laid aside the Sarum use. Under the date[a] of the 23rd of April, 1577, we read: "In the space of five

[a] *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay.* Edited by Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory. London, Nutt, 1878, p. 118.

months twenty of our theologians were made priests. And all these celebrate mass daily according to the order of the Roman missal published by St. Pius V., having been carefully and diligently taught the rites of the same missal by the venerable priest Laurence Webb, who when at Rome conscientiously and minutely learned all its order and ceremonies."

The bull by Pius V. approving the reformed Roman missal[a] was issued in July 1570, and that approving and reforming the Roman breviary had appeared just two years before. They did not touch the authority of the Sarum, York, or other English uses, for they expressly exempted from their operation all missals and breviaries, even though authorised only by custom, provided that they had existed at least two hundred years. It was not therefore by the strong hand of authority, but by a natural death, that our venerable English uses died. It is interesting to see how long they lingered. Even after the accession of James I. a Sarum manual,[b] or part of one, was printed in 4to. by Laurence Kellam at Douay in 1604,[c] *permissu superiorum*. This charming little book consists of 168 pages small 4to. with 14 pages of annotations, in which amongst other things the words "bonnair and buxom" in the marriage service are explained.

However, this book was supplanted in ten years' time by one of the Roman rite,[d] printed in 1615, which was succeeded by a much fuller edition[e] published at Antwerp in 1626, containing a licence and approbation by John, bishop of Antwerp, dated February 18, 1621, and given in virtue of a special deputation to that effect by the pope. What with confiscations[f] and wear and tear, by

[a] The Roman Ritual was published by Paul V. in 1614.

[b] "Sacra Institutio Baptizandi, Matrimonium celebrandi, infirmos ungendi, mortuos sepeliendi, ac alii nonnulli ritus Ecclesiastici, juxta usum insignis Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis. Duaci, excudebat Laurentius Kellam, typog. inrat. M.DC.IIII. Permissu Superiorum."

[c] Mr. Maskell mentions an 8vo. edition published at Douay in 1610. *Monumenta Ritualia*, 2nd edit. vol. i. p. xci.

[d] "Missæ aliquot pro sacerdotibus itinerantibus in Anglia, ex Missali Romano Reformato. Permissu Superiorum. M.DC.XV." sm. 4°. pp. 152.

[e] "Missale parvum pro Sacerdotibus in Anglia, Scotia et Ibernia itinerantibus. Ordo etiam baptizandi, aliaque sacramenta ministrandi, et officia quædam Ecclesiastica rite peragendi. Ex Pontificali et Rituali Romano, inssu Pauli PP. Quinti editis, extractus. Anno M.DC.XXVI." sm. 4° pp. 271.

[f] In searches made by pursuivants in Catholic houses, the old books were carried off as part of the "massing stuff." In the State Papers we often come across seizures of church books. Thus in 1582, a Sarum primer was taken; in August of the same year two portasses were taken from James Lessman a Franciscan friar of Mary's restored house at Greenwich; in January 1583 thirty primers from Peter Lawson, who must have been bringing in books from abroad, as he had also five hundred catechisms, fifteen Latin Testaments, forty-five books of meditation (*Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 154, n. 75, vol. 155, n. 9, vol. 158, n. 17).

this time, more than sixty years after the death of queen Mary, missals of the ancient uses must have grown very scarce in England, and the old priests were all gone who all their lives had known no other. The new Antwerp books were very handy for seminary priests to carry with them, containing as they did the *ordo* and canon of the mass, a selection of masses *de Tempore* and *de Sanctis*, and important and most necessary extracts from the pontifical and ritual. As from the pontifical the rite is given of consecrating a portable altar-stone, it is to be presumed that leave was given to the missionary priests to consecrate altar-stones for themselves in case of necessity. From the ritual all trace of Sarum use disappeared, excepting in the marriage service. The Council of Trent[a] had expressed a strong desire that all provinces should retain their own marriage ceremonies, and thus the forms of the marriage contract, with the gift of gold and silver, and the manner of putting on the wedding-ring were inserted in the extract from the Roman ritual for English use, and, with some slight modification, they retain their place in the rituals used by Catholics in England to this day.

I may conclude with the mention of a little manuscript in my possession. It is a York manual, or the greater part of one, written out by some priest for his own use in the days of Elizabeth. The form of marriage has been changed to that of Sarum by some other priest. The book, however, seems not to have been used out of York, as it formed part of the priests' library at St. Wilfrid's in that town up to the year 1881, when that library was dispersed. This would seem to imply that the Sarum form of marriage superseded that of York, even in York itself, towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

[a] Si quæ provinciæ aliis, ultra prædictas, laudabilibus consuetudinibus et ceremoniis hac in re utuntur, eas omnino retineri Sancta Synodus vehementer optat. Sess. xxiv. cap. 1. De Reform. Matr.

VII.—*On a MS. List of Officers of the London Trained Bands in* 1643. *By the Hon.* Harold Arthur Dillon, *Sec. S.A.*

Read March 21, 1889.

By permission of the Council of the Royal United Service Institution I exhibit a small MS. entitled *Ensignes, Trayned Bands, and Auxiliaries*, 1642. It is bound in white vellum, and at one time had strings or laces for keeping it closed. Both covers have a simple tooled and gilt double line round the edge, and in the centre a curious figure drawn in ink. It represents a sort of satyr with a tail and feet like a dragon. The front of his body is covered by an oval shield bearing the arms of the city of London in red ink. The figure holds in his hands on each side of the shield a cornucopiae, out of which rise the heads of several serpents.

The MS. consists of 77 leaves of gilt-edged paper with the "pot" water-mark. On the third leaf is the title:

"The Ensignes | Of the Regiments in the rebellious Citty of | LONDON | Both of Trayned Bands and | Auxiliaries. | Togeather with the nearest Number of | there Trayned Soldiers; taken as | they marched into Finsbury | feilds being there last | generall muster | Tuesday September xxvj. MDCXLIII. | Anno pestifferæ Rebellionis."

Beneath this is added in another hand:

"Opera Gul:^{mi} Levett Arm^{ri}."

The next opening is a sort of double table of contents, with the numbers of the ensigns of the different regiments and the pages on which the ensigns and the number of men in each regiment are to be found.

The next opening but one, numbered pages 1 and 2, displays the ensigns or flags of the Colonel and Lieut.-Colonel of the Red Regiment of Trained Bands, with the names of those officers.

The flags are coloured, and the names are neatly engrossed, the rank being in print-hand, and extra notes in the manuscript hand of the period. So on through the MS. the names and ranks of the officers are given below their ensigns or flags, and occasional notes are added. At the end of each regiment is a short summary of the number of "Musketts," "Pikes," and "Officers," and a note as to when the regiment entered Finsbury Field, etc.

The flags consist of a staff with spear-head and two tasselled cords and the taffeta. In all cases the Colonel's flag is a plain one of the colour of the regiment. The Lieut.-Colonel has a similar one, but with the cross of St. George in a white canton. The Sergeant-Major has a flag like the Lieut.-Colonel, but with one distinctive mark, the 1st Captain has two distinctive marks, and so on.

These marks vary in the different regiments; the Red has wavy rays of white issuing from the lower inner corner of the canton. The White Regiment has red lozenges; the Yellow Regiment, black mullets; the Blue Regiment, white plates; the Green Regiment, white caltrops; the Orange Regiment, white trefoils slipped. The Tower Hamlets have on a red flag the words: IEHOVA PROVIDEBIT within two palms forming a wreath, and small sprays of palm in each corner, all in silver; the distinctive marks are silver plates in chief. The other flags are as follows:

The Westminster Liberty Regiment,—a red flag with silver stars.
The Southwark Regiment,—a yellow flag with blue plates.
The Green Auxiliaries,—a green flag with gold wavy rays.
The White Auxiliaries,—a white flag with red wavy rays.
The . . . . Auxiliaries,—a . . . flag with . . . wavy rays.
The Yellow Auxiliaries,—a yellow flag with blue rays.
The Red Auxiliaries,—a red flag with white plates.
The Blue Auxiliaries,—a blue flag with gold rays.
The Orange Auxiliaries,—an orange flag with . . . plates.
The Dragoons have five yellow standards, the ends slit and with rounded points, and bearing black plates according to their number.

In the Harleian Collection of MSS. there is a small volume containing a similar list of the officers, but with numerous additional notes. The flags are only shown in trick with the heraldic tinctures noted. This volume contains some other MS. notes of a similar nature, and the whole is said to be by Richard

Symonds, the author of the *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army* (Camden Society, vol. 74).[a]

I am inclined to think that Symonds copied his list from the MS. now exhibited, and my reasons for thinking so are these: (1) The names are alike in both MSS. and so is the arrangement and pagination, but the Harleian MS. is roughly executed and not coloured; (2) The additional notes are such as Symonds might have added from his own knowledge, and in the title the word *rebellious* is omitted, but its place is left blank; (3) Inside the Harleian MS. is pasted a rude sketch of the figure described above as being on both covers of the MS. exhibited. The rough sketch has been cut from the parchment cover of the Harleian MS. and inserted when the MS. was bound up with the others.

There is also a curious difference between the two. Below the summary of the Red Regiment in the MS. now exhibited is the line:

"Was bang'd at Newbery."

This is omitted in the Harleian MS.

The ○ affixed to the names in the White and Southwark Regiments in the Harleian MS. appears to stand for "roundhead."

P.S.—Since writing the foregoing notes, Major Raikes, F.S.A. has kindly drawn my attention to chapter v. of his valuable *History of the Honourable Artillery Company*, in which he has sketched the history of the London Trained Bands at the period of the Civil War.

From this sketch the following notes may be of use as illustrating the list of officers now exhibited:

The Privy Council in 1614 directed a general muster of the City forces, and especially of the trained men enrolled about 1585. These latter were to be made into companies by the name of Trained Bands. In 1616 the Privy Council directed that there should be four regiments of these, the East, West, North, and South, each consisting of five companies.

In 1627 each of the four captains was to provide an antient of taffeta. In 1642 the Common Council ordered the Trained Bands to be increased to forty

[a] *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War; kept by Richard Symonds.* Edited by C. E. Long, M.A. Printed for the Camden Society, 1859.

companies of 200 men each, and the Militia Committee were directed to appoint six colonels and thirty-four captains.

In August of this year twelve companies were chosen by lot to be in readiness to go out of London to join the main army for the relief of Gloucester.

On the 23rd of August six regiments, one of horse, two of the Trained Bands, and three of the Auxiliaries left London, and advancing by Uxbridge, Claydon, and Bayards Green, where they joined the main army, marched to Addington. On September 8, after some skirmishes on the way, the whole army entered Gloucester. Leaving that town on the 10th the army moved by Tewkesbury, Cirencester, and Swindon, and arrived close to Newbury on the 19th. The next day the first battle of Newbury took place, and here the Red Regiment lost heavily, giving occasion for the remark in the MS. now exhibited: "Was bang'd at Newbery." The Trained Bands then returned to London, arriving on September 28th.

Major Raikes has printed the account of this expedition as related by Henry Foster, quondam sergeant to Captain George Morse.

These lists include a baronet and five aldermen, and most of the trades of a great city are represented. Thus what would be included under the name of haberdasher have eleven names; tailors, three; grocers, three; merchants, two; wine merchants, four; and dyers, two. Besides these are a confectioner, tobacco seller, sugar baker, skinner, woolmonger, woolstapler, and a soap boiler.

APPENDIX.

The Royal United Service Institution MS. is here transcribed verbatim, but the names of the officers are placed together by regiments instead of one on each page below his ensign or colour.

Additional notes from Harl. MS. 986 are inserted between square brackets [ ].

The Enfignes
Of the Regiments in the rebellious[a] Citty of
LONDON
Both of Trayned Bands and
Auxiliaries.

Togeather with the nearest Number of
there Trayned Soldiers; taken as
they marched into Finfbury
feilds being there last
generall muster.

Tuesday September. xxvj. MDCXLIII.
Anno pestifferae Rebellionis.

Trayned Bands.

			Pag:	Numb'. pag:
[Newbery]	Red	7 Enfignes	1	8
	White	7 Enfignes	9	16
	Yellow	7 Enfignes	17	24
		Regiment		
[Newbery]	Blew	7 ——	25	32
	Greene	6 Enfignes	33	39
	Orenge	6 Enfignes	40	46

Additions to ye Trayned Bands.

Tower Hamletts	7 Enfignes		47	54
Westminster 7 En.	Regiment		55	62
Southwarke	9 Enfignes		63	72

Auxiliaries.

			Pag:	Numb'. pag:
Greene	7 Enfignes		77	84
White	7 Enfignes		85	92
. . . .	7 Enfignes		93	100
Yellow 7 En	Regiment		101	109
Red	7 Enfignes		115	122
Blew	7 Enfignes		123	130
Orenge	7 Enfignes		131	138

Number of Ensignes both of trayned bands & Aux: 112

Summa totalis: pagina. 139

[a] The word "rebellious" omitted in the Harl. MS., but a blank left for it.

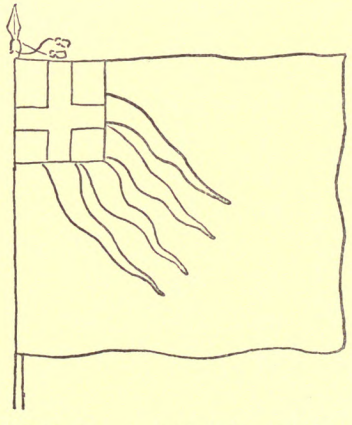
RED REGIMENT.

This Regiment was not. At the generall Muster. in ffinsbury feilds.

Musketts . . .
Pikes . . . . .
Officers about .

The totall .

[The limitts of this Regim[t] Aldgate Marke Lane Tower Street Billingsgate.]
Was bang'd at Newbery & came into London on Thursday. Sep: 28. 1643.[a]
[Came from Newbery on Thursday Sep 28 1643.]
Colonel. Thomas Atkins *Alderman.*
Colonels Captaine [or Capt. Leiftenant]. George Mosse.
Lieu[t]. Collonel. Randall Manwaring *Who grants theire Passes.* [was colonel of the Red Regt. of Auxiliaries & wt. them at Newbury]
S[r]ieant Maior. Tucker. *Carried y[e] Prisoners out of Ely Howse to y[e] Shipp. afterwards was slayne at Newbery. Sep. 1643.* [Prisoners removed out of Ely House 1643, Mr. W[m] Ingoldsby of Walton in Com Herts Cl. Mr. Walt ffarr Essex. Mr. John Scriuener Com Suff. Esq. Mr. Hopefill Tilden Jurate of Sandwich. Mr. Sam Daniell of Bulmer in Essex Ronsaul. Mr. Tilyard & Mr. Hall of Horney Yarmouth.
1. Captaine William Tomson. [this Tomson was leiftenant Colonel of this Regiment at Newbury]
2[d] Captaine Edward Hooker.



Red Regiment. Third Captain's flag.

3[d] Captaine. Laurence Bromfeild.
4 Captaine Richard Hunt [quondam servant to Capt. Ditchfeild] *a Confectioner in Bearebinder Lane, slayne at Newbery.* [this Hunt was 3[d] Capt. at Newbery]

[a] This line is omitted in Harl. MS. 986.

White Regiment.

With this Regiment marched first into ye feild at ye General Muster.—Sep: 26.

Musketts . . .	600
Pikes	520
Officers about .	70
The totall .	1190

[7 Capt. 7 leift. 28 serjeant some 3 some 4 S'ieants.]

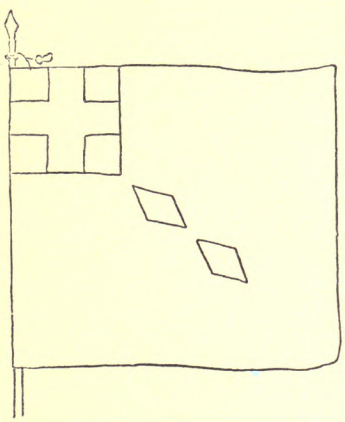
[The limitts of this Regim^t^ Cornhill Lumbard Street, Fanchurch ye upp pt. of Grace Church Street &c.]

Collonel. Isaac Pennington. [Usurper Maior 1643]

Collonels Captaine. Richard Verner.

Lieu^t^ Collonel. Robert Davies [a slopmaker for Seamen neare Billingsgate]

S^r^ieant Maior. Thomas Chamberlaine. [viol^t^ O a Merchant living neare London hall]



White Regiment. First Captain's flag.

1 Captaine Thomas Player [a hosyer & whole saleman for narrow wares living upon neare ffish street hill].

2^d^ Captaine Christofer Whicheot. *A Merchant* [Colonel of the Greene Regimt of Auxiliaries about Cripplegate].

3^d^ Captaine. William Manby *Clerke of Leathersellers Hall.*

4th Captaine Joseph Vaughan. *displaced.*

Yellow Regiment.

This Regiment marched Second into ye feild at the General Muster aforesaid & Consisted of

Musketts . . .	506
Pikes	448
Officers about .	070
The totall .	1024

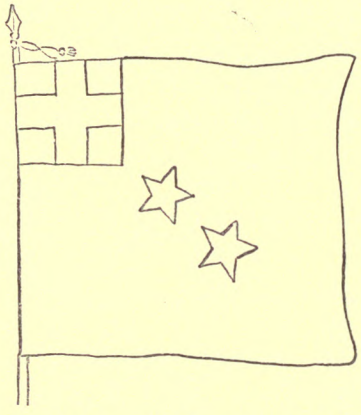
[The limitts of this Regim^t^ Cheapeside, St Pauls ch. yard: pt. of Watling Street, pt. of Newgate M^r^ket w^t^ in Ludgate Blackfriers, &c.]

Collonel. Sr John Wollaston. Knight *Alderman.*[a]

Collonels Captaine. John Brett. [a Grocer Silke painting Colo^r^ at ye Rose and Crown in Cornhill]

Lieu^t^. Collonel. Ralph Harrison. *Wollen Draper in Watling Street.*

S^r^ieant Maior. Richard Cuthbert. *A Wollen Draper in ffleet street neare White Fryars-gate*



Yellow Regiment. First Captain's flag.

1 Captaine. Robert Tichburne. *A Linnen by y^e^ little Conduct in Cheapeside.*

2^d^ Captaine Walter Lee. *A Haberdasher in Ludgate,* [at the signe of ye Sun and Bowle] *did breake the Windowes of Westminster Abbey.*

3^d^ Captaine. William Hichcock. *Wollen Draper dwelling in Watling Street.*

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[a] The words " S^r^ " and " Knight " have been added in a differently coloured ink.

Blew Regiment.

This Regiment was not at this Muster. but came from Newbery. on Thursday September. 28.

[It was the biggest Regim^{t} of ye Trayned Bands 1400 of them at Brainford Turnhā green.]

[Limitts of this Regim^{t}. P^{t} of Thames Street beginning at St Magnus Church and reacheth to Bread Street, Dowgate, Walbrooke, ffriday street & pt of Watling street &c.]

Collonel Thomas Adams. *Alderman* [he was not at Newbery].

Collonels Captaine. Edward Clegatt *Thames Street.*

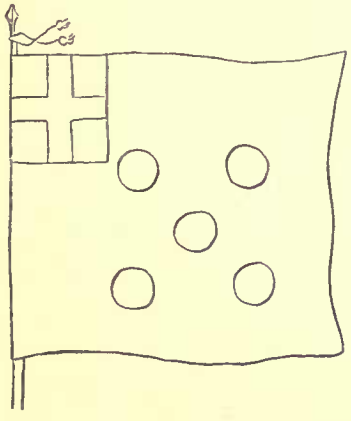
Lieu^{t}. Collonel. Francis West. [A Silke man living in Bread streete. This West was colonel of this Regimt. at Newbery, Capt. Edw. Stoning was his leiut. there and shott in the heele & dyed at Reading & buried there.]

S^{r}ieant Maior. William Underwood [a Tobacco Seller in Bucklersbury Capt Rich. Hacket p^{o}ceded this Underwood in this Regim^{t} but left them refusing the Oath of Association[a] and is now in his Ma^{tics} Service] Garlick-hill & Queene Hythe Company.

1 Captaine. Edward Bellamy. [a Vintner at the Rest on Fleet bridge a ffishmonger in Thames street under the Bridge. Capt. Rich. Hacket was Capt. of this Company]

2^{d} Captaine. John Booker. *Register to the Comissioners of the Statute of Banckrupt; dwells in Wallbrooke.*

3^{d} Captaine. George Dipford. *A linnen Draper or Merchant.*[b] *ag^{t} Bow-Church.* [near Bow Church in the ch. yard]. Cheape-side Company against the Standard.



Blue Regiment. Fourth Captain's flag.

4th Captain. William Coleson. [he w^{t} his company carried the Statues in the church of Allhallowes to ye parliam^{t}, a dyer living near Dyers hall in Thames in Little Allhallowes pish tenant to Mr. H.] *of the Custome howse, dwells in Allhallowes-Barkinge.*

[a] See the Green Regiment.

[b] The words "*or Merchant.*" are an addition.

GREENE REGIMENT.

This Regiment marched. 3d into the feild at ye same general muster. wth

Musketts . . .	503
Pikes	297
Officers about .	063
The totall . .	863

[The limitts of this Regimt is Coleman Street the Stocks Lothbury Old Jury pt. of Cheapeside.]

Collonel John Warner. *Alderman.*

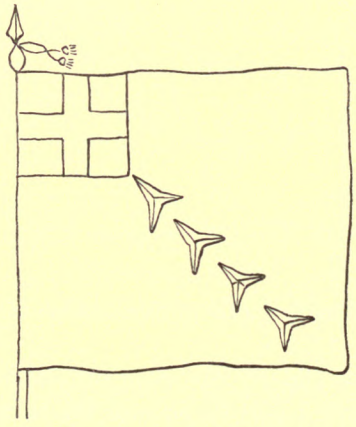
Collonels Captaine Thomas Juxon [Twas Juxon of Surrey that was killed at N.] *Slayne at Newbery on this manner. His horse was shott in ye forehead, by a Cañon bullet, & ran wth him violently into his Maties Army, where the horse fell downe dead, & himselfe. mortally wounded* [& left dead, but the body of ye Army leaving the place left him too and by that time he recovered his sword and was carried to London & dyed wtin few days. his estate was near Godalming in Surrey wher he lived] *wthin few dayes dyed.*

Leiut. Collonel. Mathew Foster. [Vintner at the Shipp beyond Exchange putt out himself but tooke the oath of Association taken by the Capt. of the Citty for opposing all forces raysed wtout consent of P.] *Vintner. put out.*

Srieant Major. Owen Roe. *A Mercer in Cheapeside.*

1 Captaine. Mathew Sheppard. *Merchant* [a Sugar baker ptner wt Juxon afores^{d} in St Thomas Apostles.

2d Captaine. Francis Roe. *Brother to Srieant Mar. Owen Roe aforesaid.* [one of those Roes lived in Coleman Street.]



Green Regiment. Third Captain's flag.

3d Captaine. Robert Mainwaring. *of the Custome Howse living in Aldermanbury.* [hath a troope of horse besides & quitted this Capt.]

ORENGE REGIMENT.

At ye Generall Muster aforesaid there marched into the feild wth this Regiment

Musketts . . .	630
Pikes	408
Officers, about .	063
The totall	1101

This Regiment Marched ye 4th into ye feild.[a]

Collonel John Towse *Alderman* [grocer neare Mercer's Chappel].

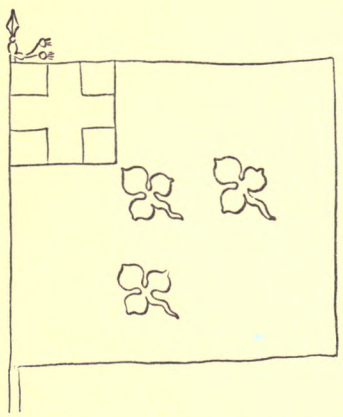
Collonels Captaine. Boswell *a Taylo^r^ in the old Baylwicke.*

The limitte of this Regim^t^ are, from Ludgate to Temple Barre, Black Fryers, and Bridewell, &c. part of Holborne, & all St Sepulchers parish.

Leiu^t^ Collonel. Rowland Wilson. [neare Merchant Taylors Hall married Aldermā Wrights d & co heir] *Son in law to Alderman Wright.*

S^r^ieant Maior. Nathaniel Gamfeild a *Saleman ag^t^ St. Sepulchers Church.*

1 Captaine. Thomas Gower. Holborne Company from the Barres downewardes &c.



Orange Regiment. Second Captain's flag.

2^d^ Captaine. Richard Wollaston. *a Wollen Draper dwelling near^e^ y^e^ Exchange.* Fleetstreet Companye.

3^d^ Captaine. Myles Pettye. *a Wollen-Draper dwelling ag^t^ Holborne Conduct.* Snow Hill, & Sepulchers Company.

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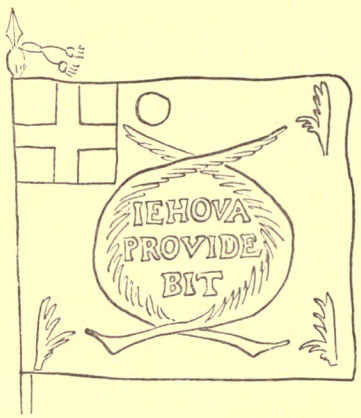
[a] An added entry, omitted in Harl. MS. 986.

Tower Hamletts Regiment.

This Regiment marched 5 into y^e^ feild with.

Musketts . . .	819
Pikes	385
Officers	070
The total	1304

Collonel. [The Lieut. of ye Tower ex tempore] Hamletts belonging to y^e^ Tower.
Leiu^t^ Collonel.



Tower Hamlets Regiment. Sergeant Major's flag.

S^r^icant Maior.
1. Captayne. [Hook a Vinegar man of these captaines].
2^d^ Captayne.
3^d^ Captayne.
4th Captayne.

Westminster Libertye Regiment.

This was the Sixth Regiment that marched into the feild and it Consisted of

Musketts . . .	1084	1938
Pikes	0854	
Officers	80	
Toto	2018	

Collonel. Sir James Harrington [Bart] *Sonne and heire to Sr Edward Harrington of Ridlington Com Rutland.* Without Temple Barre & ye parts adiacent. Westminster. libertye [lived at Highgate].

Lieu^t^. Collonel.

S^r^ieant Maior.

1 Captayne. [Mr. Fauconbge older brother of ye Tally office is Capt in this Regiment]

2^d^ Captayne George Warren. *a Taylo^r^ in Sheere lane Came into his office. 26 of Septemb. 1643. This Company Consiste of Sheere lane. Bell-yard; from Holborne barrs to ye Kings-gate, & all Purpoole lane.*

3^d^ Captayne.

4th Captayne.

SOUTHWARKE REGIMENT. [Wch they now call Aux Mr John Luntlow Major of Sr Rich Crispe's Regimtt can tell all this Regim^t^ at Water Eaton.]

This is the 7th & last regiment that marched into feild and it Consisted of

Musketts . . .	868	at most
Pikes	456	
Officers about .	70	
In all . . .	1394	

Collonel. Hudson. *a Skinner in Southwarke* (erased in Harl. 986 and in place of it,) [Hooker a Stiller of strong Waters living in St Mary at Hill neare Billingsgate who comitted Mr Newbery to prison about 14 Aug. 1643.] Southwarke Regiment.

Lieu^t^. Collonel. [Tho Hudson a skinner in Southwark]

S^r^ieant Maior. [Hardwick a Sope Boyler living in Southwark at ye signe of ye 3 holy-water Sprinkles]

1 Captayne. [p Mr Newbery The Captaines in this Reg Sep 1643 Capt Hobson a grocer in Southwark]

2^d^ Captaine [Capt. Sowton a woodmonger in Southwark]

3^d^ Captayne. [Capt. Hobland a dyer in St Oloves in Southw]

4th Captaine. [Capt. Geo Snelling a distiller of strong waters in St Oloves pish]

5th Captaine. [Capt. John Thornto a fell monger or Sheepe skin gatherer]

6th Captaine. [Capt. Luke Bradley a Woolstapler living in Barnabe Street in St Oloves]

[These violent O]

These Regiments following, are called Auxiliaries.

These Regiments of Auxiliaries did not march into the feild with the Trayned Bands, but did muster, by themselues, some, in the new Artillery Yard, others seuerally in Moorefeilds.

Greene Regiment.

This Regiment Mustered in the Artillery yard by Moore-feilds.
Suppose the number to be at most.—1200.
Collonel [Chr.] Whichcott [a merchant 2d captain in Pennington's Regimt].
Cripplegate & Auxiliaries
Lieut. Collonel.
Srieant Maior.
1. Captaine.
2d Captaine.
3d Captaine.
4th Captaine.

White Regiment Auxiliaries.[a]

—— Regiment Auxiliaries.[b]

This Regiment of Aux: mustered in Moorefeilds but it being night before the Trayned bande marched all into ye feild. could not distinguish this.

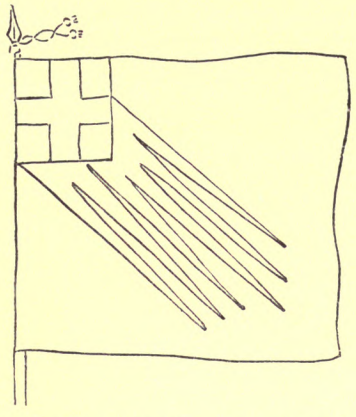
---

[a] Ensigns given, but no names or numbers

[b] Ensigns given, but no names or numbers.

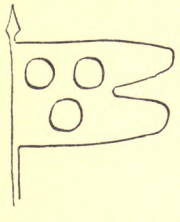
YELLOW REGIMENT AUXILIARIES.[a]

Colonel. Tichburne. Lieu[t]. Colonel to



Yellow Regiment Auxiliaries. Sergeant Major's flag.

This ensigne wth that of 6 piles did muster by themselues in a pasture by the Windmills. they both consisted of Musketts. 112. Pikes 30. | 142.



Regiment of Dragoons. Second Captain's flag.

This Regiment of Dragoones, did Muster in the Artillery Yard, on the 26 of Sepiember; 1643
They did belong to Waller.
There number was about.—500.

The Three Regiments of Auxiliaries[b] following Videlt.
Red.
Blew. &
Orenge.
did gett home from Newbery on Thursday. Septemb. 28. 1643.

[a] Ensigns given, but no names or numbers, except under the Colonel's and Sergeant Major's flags.

[b] The ensigns of these three regiments are given, but without names or numbers.

TRAYNED BANDS.

At Newbery	Red-Regim^{t} suppose it recruted	1000
	White Regiment mustered	1190
	Yellow. Regiment mustered	1024
At Newbery	Blewe. Regiment suppose it recruted	1000
	Greene. Regiment mustered	0863
	Orenge. Regiment Mustered	1101
	Additions to ye Trayned Bands.	
	Tower Hamletts Reg. mustered	1304
	Westminster Liberty mustered	2018
	Southwarke Regim^{t} mustered	1394
	Toto	10894

AUXILIARIES.

	Greene Regim^{t} suppose it at most	1200
	White Regim^{t} suppose it at most	1000
	.... Regim^{t} suppose it at most	1000
	Yellow Regim^{t} suppose it at most	1000
At Newbery	Red Regim^{t} suppose it recruted	1000
At Newbery	Blewe Regim^{t} suppose it recruted	1000
At Newbery	Orenge Regim^{t} suppose it recruted	1000
	Number of Aux.	7200
	Number of trayned bands	10894
	Numerus totalis.	18094

VIII.—*On a newly-discovered Manuscript containing Statutes compiled by Dean Colet for the Government of the Chantry Priests and other Clergy in St. Paul's Cathedral.* *By* W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., *Sub-Dean of the cathedral.*

Read March 21, 1889.

St. Paul's Cathedral was, as might be expected from its position and influence, unusually rich in obits and in chantries. From the foundation of the chantry of master John de London, early in the reign of Henry II., to that of Robert Brocket, citizen and baker, in the twenty-fourth year of Henry VIII., a continuous stream of benefactors appears amongst the records of the cathedral, who desired to express their piety by the endowment of chantries for their own souls and for the souls of members of their families.

Most commonly the endowments made provision for the maintenance of a single chantry priest, as in the case of the chantry of master John de London, already referred to; sometimes for two priests, as in that of bishop Roger Niger, founded in the time of king Richard I., or in that of bishop Richard de Gravesend, founded in 1360; sometimes for three priests, as in the chantry of Sir Philip Basset, knight, of Hedindon, Oxon (in 1260), who gave his manor of Boyton to the dean and chapter for the support of the priests; or in that of Sir John Pulteney (23 Edward III.), or Dean More; sometimes for a still larger number, as in the case of Adam de Bury, "who underwent the office of Lord Mayor in 1364" (the phrase is Dugdale's), whose chantry of three chaplains was augmented by canon Roger Holme, so that it maintained no less than seven priests. To the priests of the Lancaster chantry bishop Braybroke gave part of his old palace as a residence.[a]

[a] Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, edition 1818, pp. 18—29.

In addition to the chantry foundations were those minor endowments for the celebration of obits, of which in the early part of the fourteenth century there were no less than 111. The annual income of these amounted to 183*l.* 18*s.* 3½*d.*, which, if multiplied (as Dean Milman suggests[a]) by 15 to bring the amount up to its present value, would represent a yearly sum of about 2,758*l.* 16*s.* 10½*d.*

It is very difficult to determine the exact number of the chantries. In the Appendix to the present paper will be found a list, now for the first time printed, of seventy-three chantries, with their values, and the names of the respective chaplains. This list is not dated, but the handwriting points to the fourteenth century as the period of its compilation.[b]

The Return of Chantries, dated 1 January, 1 Edw. VI. (printed in Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, p. 380 *et seqq.*), enumerates thirty-six chantries, if groups of united chantries are reckoned as one chantry, or fifty-three chantries if each be counted separately.[c] The gross annual value of these was about 646*l.* 6*s.*

The union of some of the chantries had been effected by competent authority. In 1391, May 7, Richard II. issued letters patent in which he sets forth the facts following:

Robert Braybroke, bishop of London, had lately visited the cathedral. He had found that some of the chantries which had been originally of but small endowment had now grown so poor that they could not support a chaplain; in consequence, they were held by rectors and beneficed clergy of the city and diocese of London, and indeed by the clergy of other dioceses also. The holding of a chantry was incompatible with other duties, as it required personal residence at the cathedral, and hence the intentions of the founders had been frustrated, and the foundation of other chantries greatly hindered. The king proposes, with the consent of the dean and chapter, to unite some of these poorer chantries, and thus to secure adequate remuneration for the priests who served these altars.

The royal recommendation was carried into effect. The bishop issued letters on June 26, in which he lays down several important regulations. From henceforth no beneficed person shall hold a chantry. The minor canons are, however, specially exempted from the operation of this rule, "propter exilitatem," and "propter eorum gradus excellentiam necnon assiduum laborem eorundem in divinis." Chaplains are to attend choir offices day and night, and to take part

[a] Dean Milman's *Annals of St. Paul's*, second edit. p 145, with Appendix by Archdeacon *Hale* giving a careful list of these obits, pp. 504—514.

[b] See Appendix No. II. to the present paper.

[c] See Appendix No. IV. for a tabulated abstract of this return.

in processions, funeral rites, and the like. They are to live in the mansion called "Presteshous," founded for them,[a] or in the chambers of their respective chantries. The royal licence having been duly obtained, the bishop issues his letters, dated 6 June, 1391, with a list of the unions which had been determined upon. The effect of this legislation was to condense some fifty-nine chantries into twenty-seven groups.[b]

The chantry priests must have been always a somewhat difficult set of people to deal with. Certainly archbishop Sudbury denounces them in no measured terms, in a document printed in Wilkins' *Concilia*.[c] The archbishop and his suffragans met together in solemn conclave, on November 16, 1378, "in quadam camera infra septa monasterii Petri et Pauli Gloucestriae Wigorniensis diocesis," to consider the position and conduct of the chantry priests throughout the province of Canterbury. The conclusions at which they arrived are recorded in such vigorous terms that it may probably be better to give the original words than to deprive them of any of their force by translation.

"Sane communis ad nos querela perduxit, et magistra rerum sapientia manifestat, quod moderni temporis sacerdotes nostrorum civitatis, dioc.,[d] ac provinciae Cantuariensis adeo jam cupiditatis vitia infecerunt, quod stipendiis rationabilibus non contenti pro labore salaria vendicant et recipiunt plurimum excessiva; sacerdotesque praedicti sunt cupidi et delicati salariis excessivis hujusmodi farcinati, evomunt, indomiti delirant, et deficiunt, ac eorum nonnulli post ventris ingluviem, et varias carnis illecebras spumant in libidinem, et tandem in malorum voraginem funditus demerguntur, in virorum ecclesiasticorum detestabile scandalum, et exemplum perniciossimum laicorum."

The great swelling words of the archbishop seem to prove too much. If the charges thus brought against a large body of men were literally true, nothing short of deprivation and degradation ought to have been their lot. Merely to reduce their salaries was a very inadequate way of dealing with such grievous offenders. But yet this is the course actually taken, for on the sixth of the kalends of December in the same year, the archbishop issues a decree:

"At quicunque in nostra civitate, diocesi, seu provincia Cantuariensi pro animabus defunctorum annualia celebraturi, septem marcis, aut cibariis et tribus marcis; alii autem, qui curae animarum deservient, octo marcis, aut cibariis et quatuor marcis sterlingorum, annuatim contententur."

[a] See the original documents in my *Registrum Statutorum S. Pauli*, pp. 142—158.

[b] See the list of these united chantries in Appendix No. III.

[c] iii., 135—6.

[d] Wilkins prints *diocc.* but it is *dioc.* in the original *Register*.

So that the evils of unbridled gluttony and lust are to be cured by the reduction of the chaplains' stipend to seven marks a-year, or their *cibaria*[a] and three marks; whilst, if they have cure of souls, they may receive eight marks, or their *cibaria* and four marks.

Probably a good deal of allowance is to be made for the somewhat turgid style of the archbishop, if any just view is to be formed of the iniquities laid to the chaplains' charge. No doubt many of the men were very illiterate. They had plenty of leisure, and the statutes of the cathedral and common report seem to show that there was really a good deal to be said against them.

It is a little difficult, however, to reconcile charges such as these with the known poverty of many of the chantries. In the early list appended to the present paper the highest value of any chantry is ten marks per annum, or 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.; whilst the lowest reaches the miserable amount of eight shillings. The value is stated of 64 chantries, and the gross annual income of these amounts to 292*l*. 13*s*. 8*d*.; a sum which, if equally divided, would have provided an average stipend of 4*l*. 11*s*. 5*d*.; a sum which can scarcely be considered as allowing for any great luxury or costliness of living; and which perhaps may be held to justify a desire for some annual increment which it is a little hard to brand with the name of covetousness. It cannot, however, be denied, if the evidence of statutes may be safely taken, and such evidence is of a high order, that many of these mass priests were discreditable persons, and that they led loose and dissolute lives.

But, indeed, society at large held some of its moral obligations very loosely. It was characteristic of a good country parson, as Chaucer[b] says, that

> He sette not his benefice on hire,
> And let his shepe accumbred in the mire,
> And ran unto London unto Seint Poules
> To seeken him a chantery for souls.

There were many, however, who deserted their flocks, and took up their abode in London: and certainly the higher clergy were equally indifferent to their duties. In archbishop Winchilsea's register, at the end of the thirteenth century, there were some of the clergy "that had fifteen, others thirteen, while one held

[a] Ducange says Cibaria: *Frumentum, bladum;* but probably the word is here equivalent to our word *board.*

[b] Chaucer, *Prologue*, 509—514.

no fewer than twenty-three benefices. The twenty-three clergymen given in the list held an average of eight livings each."[a] Nor were matters much better in the sixteenth century, for still some priests had "as many as ten or twelve benefices." Cardinal Pole received at eighteen years of age the deanery of Wimborne Minster, having previously, when seventeen, held a prebendal stall in Salisbury diocese: whilst it is said of bishop Fox, who was consecrated bishop of Exeter in 1487, removed to Bath and Wells in 1491, and translated to Durham in 1494, that he never saw his cathedral at Exeter, nor set foot in his diocese of Bath and Wells.[b]

Even Colet himself had his full share of the Church's preferments. "He was only nineteen when he was preferred to the great living of Denington, in Suffolk, a piece of preferment which he held afterwards with the deanery of St. Paul's, and kept to his dying day. He had a prebend in the cathedral at York. His father also presented him to the church of Thoyning in the diocese of Lincoln.[c] He had stalls in the church of St. Mary le Grand, and in the cathedral of Salisbury. These preferments he obtained before he was even in deacon's orders: it was doubtful whether he was even a sub-deacon, or more than an acolyte."

Long as is this list of preferments, Dr. Sherborne, dean Colet's immediate predecessor, was a far greater offender, as the dean's latest and best biographer, the Rev. J. H. Lupton, has been careful to point out.[d]

Colet expresses himself most strongly on this very point in his famous convocation sermon.[e] Covetousness, he says, is called by St. Paul idolatry:

"This abominable pestilence hath so entred in the minde almost of all pristes, and so hath blynded the eies of the minde, that we are blynde to all thynges but onely vnto those whiche seme to brynge vnto vs some gaynes. For what other thinge seke we nowe a dayes in the churche than fatte benefices and hygh promotions. Ye, and in the same promotions, of what other thyng do we passe vpon than of our tithes and rentes? that we care nat howe many, howe chargeful, how great benefices we take, so that they be of greatte value. O, couetousnes! saint Paule iustly called the the roote of all euyl."

[a] F. A. Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. i., p. 21, citing Bishop Gibson's *Codex*, p. 946.

[b] *Ibid.* pp. 21—24.

[c] Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, vi., 284. The Dean suggests that Thurning may be the place indicated under the name of Thoyning.

[d] Lupton's *Life of Colet*, pp. 116—121.

[e] *Ibid.* p. 296.

With much more to the like effect. The "most parte of prestes" care for that which "dothe delite and please the senses. They gyue them selfe to feastes and bankettynge; they spend them selfe in vaine bablyng; they gyue them selfe to sportes and playes; they applye them selfe to huntynge and haukynge; they drowne them selfe in the delytes of this worlde; procurers and fynders of lustes they set by." He points out that "pristhode is dispised, whan there is no difference betwixt suche pristis and lay people; but, accordynge to the prophecy of Ozee, *as the people be, so are the pristes*." "Hit is nat inough for a priste, after my iugement, to construe a collette, to put forth a question, or to answer to a sopheme; but moche more a good, a pure, and a holy life, approued maners, metely lernynge of holye scripture, some knowlege of the sacramentes, chiefly and aboue all thyng, the feare of God, and loue of the heuenly lyfe." [a]

There is a sly hit at the wealth and luxury of the greater canons in Dan Lydgate's verses painted below the Dance of Death in the great cloister of St. Paul's.

Death speaks to the canon secular :

> And ye, Sir Chanon, with many great Prebend
> Ye may no longer have distribution
> Of gold, silver largely to dispend,
> For there is now no consolation
> But dance with us for all your high renowne.
> For if death stode upon the brinke,
> Ye may thereof have no delacion
> Death cometh ay when men least on him thinke.

To whom the canon makes reply with no attempt to deny the pluralities laid to his charge :

> My benefice with mony personage
> God wot ful lite may me now comfort.
> Death hath of me so gret avauntage
> That all my riches may me nought disport
> Amisse of gris they will ayein resort
> Unto the world a surpless and prebend.
> All is vainglory—truely to report
> To dyen well each man should entend.

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[a] Lupton's *Life of Colet*, pp. 295—296, p. 297, p. 300.

When the grave duties and responsibilities of the higher clergy sat so lightly on their shoulders, it can hardly be a matter of surprise that some of the poor, illiterate chantry priests did not exhibit model lives, or tried, in their poverty, to imitate "*haud passibus aequis*," the luxurious idleness of some of their superiors.

Certainly, dean Colet, when he attempted to restore "the decayed discipline of the cathedral body,"[a] had set himself a task of no common difficulty. How difficult it was may best be seen by a perusal of the Rev. J. H. Lupton's admirable and scholarly *Life of Colet*. Dr. Knight observes, that the dean's earnest preaching against the prevailing corruptions in the Church had "exposed him to the hatred and calumnies of the more ignorant and inferior part of the clergy; and especially of those belonging to his own choir, who could not well bear his love of discipline and regulation, being so very obnoxious themselves to church censure on the account of their ill behaviour." He supports this statement by a tale which he relegates to the modest obscurity of a foot-note.

"How profane and dissolute some of the popish choir of Paul's were about this time does appear in the remnant of an old English book, printed in the latter end of Henry VII., that has this plain story in it: 'Certeyne of vycars of Poules dysposed to be merye on a Sondaye at hye masse tyme, sent another madde felowe of theyr acquayntance unto a folyshe dronken preest upon the toppe of the stayres by the chauncell dore, and spake to hym, and sayd thus, Syr, my maistre hath sent you a bottell to putt your drynke in, because ye can kepe none in your brayne. Thys preest beynge therewith very angrye, all sodenly toke the bottell, and with his fote flange it down into the bodye of the churche upon the gentylmennes heddes.' "[b]

Upon this story it is sufficiently obvious to remark, that the foundation is very small and insecure if a serious charge is to be based upon it. The *animus* disclosed in the curious phrase, "the popish choir of Paul's," probably supplies a clue to the right understanding of the story. Did Dr. Knight expect to find a Protestant choir in St. Paul's while Henry VII. was upon the throne? Why did he not specify the source from which he derived his unsavoury tale? "The remnant of an old English book printed in the latter end of Henry VII." is, it must be confessed, a vague and obscure reference. What was this "old English book"? who was its author? who printed it? Henry VII. died in 1509; the English books "printed in the latter end" of his reign, are not quite so numerous as those

[a] Rev. J. H. Lupton, *Lives of Vitrier and Colet*, p. 24.

[b] Knight's *Life of Colet*, second edition, p. 78.

which issue from the press to-day. Why does he speak of "the remnant" of a book? Were there other tales in it; and were they so unsavoury that the rest of the book had been destroyed? Was only one copy of it extant, and this only in a fragmentary condition? Supposing that such a book did exist, was the story true? If the story were true, what does it prove? Only this; that there was one foolish, drunken priest at St. Paul's on whom some of the vicars played a profane practical joke. The dean would have made short work with such a man. The very next Saturday he would have been compelled to appear at the chapter then held, and would have been dealt with according to his deserts. Surely the "gentylmenne" on whose "heddes" the bottle descended would have handled the offender somewhat roughly. In truth, the story does not bear serious examination. Grave charges against bodies of men should not be made by inaccurate[a] compilers on the authority of anonymous scribblers. It is evident that Knight did not know the name of the author of the story; or, if he did, that it was not of sufficient weight to carry any authority.

Happily, the dean's labours after reform and salutary progress, do not rest on such a mythical basis. The Statutes which Colet compiled, and a collection of *Exhibita* to Cardinal Wolsey, have been printed in Dugdale's *History of St. Pauls*,[b] from a manuscript the original of which cannot now be discovered; and with some few emendations, in the *Registrum Statutorum*,[c] already referred to. It will not be necessary in the present paper to discuss these interesting documents, as its main object is to deal with hitherto unpublished matter.

The writer has been so fortunate as to discover, in the possession of Mr. Richard C. Jackson,[d] an important manuscript, containing some unpublished statutes of dean Colet, which have hitherto eluded observation, and are now, by Mr. Jackson's courtesy, for the first time printed. The manuscript is undoubtedly genuine, and contemporary with dean Colet, and is a good example of one of the fine hands for which the Scriptorium of St. Paul's cathedral was famous. It is printed in its entirety in the Appendix to this paper,[e] and it is proposed to give in the following pages a somewhat condensed summary of its contents.

[a] That the phrase is not too severe may be seen in the footnotes to Lupton's *Life of Colet*, pp. 15, 122, 202, 204, 231, 240.

[b] Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, pp. 342—354, and pp. 360—367.

[c] *Registrum Statutorum Eccles. Cath. S. Pauli*, pp. 217—248.

[d] Now residing at Grosvenor Park, Camberwell.

[e] Appendix No. I.

The manuscript commences with a brief introduction in which dean Colet relates that, as he has found reason to believe that the chaplains of the cathedral (*capellanos*, the chantry priests) may easily fall into error, and incur the danger of a breach of the oath which they had taken, in consequence of their ignorance of the statutes by which they were bound, he had carefully read through the book of the cathedral statutes, and had extracted from it all those portions which related to the chaplains, and had gathered these into a little book, which book he had ordered to be placed in the choir of the cathedral, so that in future no chaplain should be able to plead ignorance as to the exact nature of his duty.

Then follow the *excerpta* which the dean had made.

There are, he says, in the cathedral, certain priests holding chantries, which chantries had been founded from time to time to the honour and glory of God. These priests are known by various names, such as, *secutores chori*, *co-adjutores*, and by other titles which he does not specify.

Great care is to be taken (so the dean and canons agree in determining) that henceforth no chaplains shall be admitted to their office until they have been carefully examined, and good testimonials produced as to their life and laudable conversation. In every case, by whomsoever the chaplain may be presented, the dean shall ascertain that he is of honest life and good morals, to which end the candidate shall bring with him written testimonials from men of good reputation, priests or laymen, or, better still, from both. His character being satisfactorily determined, the dean shall next ascertain whether he have sufficient learning. And if the priest be one of those who are *secutores chori*, or of those called *co-adjutores*, after it has been proved that he has sufficient learning, he shall be forthwith sent to the succentor, who shall certify as to his musical knowledge, *quod est peritus in cantu*. And if his knowledge of plain song be sufficient, the dean shall order that he be acquainted with the obligations which pertain to the particular chantry to which he is nominated, and shall allow him sufficient time to read the foundation deed or statutes. This being done, the dean shall interrogate him, whether he be prepared to obey these statutes, and to bind himself by an oath so to do. If he reply in the affirmative, the dean shall solemnly admonish him to take heed to perform the duties which he is about to undertake, and shall warn him that neglect of those duties will not go unpunished. If the candidate shall then with due gravity assent, he shall be directed to read these *excerpta* from the cathedral statutes which the dean has prepared, one copy of which shall be placed in the choir, and another in the hall of St. Peter's college; and the dean shall appoint some one of the chaplains, a grave and sober man, to conduct

the candidate to the book, and to see that he reads it, which being done, and solemn promise having been made that he will obey those statutes, the priest shall be admitted to the chaplaincy of the chantry under a solemn oath, first of obedience to the dean and chapter, and then of his willingness to live according to the statutes of the cathedral and the regulations of the particular chantry which he is to serve; and further, that he will submit himself obediently and willingly to the correction of the dean, and that if after just admonitions and corrections he should habitually fail in his duty, he will allow himself, without difficulty, to be deprived of his chantry.

These orders, it is hoped, will prevent the recurrence of vexations which had been a heavy burden to the dean and a sore trouble to the chapter in times past, recalcitrant chaplains having been ejected only with the utmost difficulty.

Then follow the exact terms of the oath to be taken on admission, in which the chaplain swears to obey the dean and chapter in their lawful and canonical commands; to observe the special duties of his office, and the laudable customs and statutes of the cathedral, and to submit himself, if he fail, to correction herein; if he offend in matters for which no penalty is provided in the statutes, to submit himself to such penalties as may lawfully be imposed; to abstain from lawsuits and appeals; and not to seek any dispensation from his oath.

To this succeeds a series of regulations as to the duties to be performed and the manner of performing them.

The chaplains shall celebrate at the altars severally assigned to them. They shall approach the altar vested in white surplices, and over these shall put on their sacerdotal vestments. They shall celebrate daily, so far as possible, lest the founders be defrauded of their prayers. No strange priests shall be allowed to say mass at their altars without permission of the dean and chapter. The priests shall be content with their stipends, of whatever kind they be, and shall not accept payment from other persons to celebrate for them. All shall be present at the divine office on the greater feasts, at matins, prime, masses, evensong. Those who are *secutores chori* are bound to take their part in the divine office day and night; all these dwell together in St. Peter's college and have there *mensam et cameram*, food and lodging.

Here is introduced a regulation which seems a little out of place, as the matter of which it treats has been already handled, viz., that before any chaplain is admitted he shall be examined by the succentor, or by one of the cardinals,[a] to

[a] There are still two cardinals in St. Paul's Cathedral.

ascertain whether he be able to chant sufficiently well to go through the daily labours of the choir, and if he be not able he is to be rejected.

At the funerals of all those *qui sunt ex habitu in ecclesia S. Pauli*, all the priests and chaplains shall attend, and out of pure charity shall pray for the deceased, remembering that they too are mortal, and so doing to others as they would they should do unto them.

No person having an ecclesiastical benefice requiring personal residence can be admitted to a chaplaincy at St. Paul's, and if such an one be admitted in error, such admission is to be void; nor may any chaplain accept such a benefice.

Those who hold united chantries are to take their share of choir duties, for the emolument being increased so also should the labour be; and they are to live in St. Peter's college, and to sleep in their chambers there.

The chantry priests must not wander about the city, nor must they go outside the city, unless they have sought and obtained license from the dean and chapter, who shall determine the length of absence to be allowed, and the reasonableness of the cause for which leave of absence is sought.

The priests must submit themselves obediently to the dean and chapter, and must not proudly and disdainfully trouble their superiors by audaciously appealing against their decisions, but humbly and reverently submit to their authority. Those who rebel shall for their intolerable pride be ejected from their office.

Here ends the first section of the manuscript.

The second section consists of statutes issued by dean Colet, with the consent of the chapter, in his visitation of the cathedral, in the first year of his deanery, on the 20th of June, 1506. The following is a summary of these provisions.

All choir clergy are to enter the choir at each office of day or night at the commencement of the office, the penalty of unpunctuality being one penny.

Except for just cause no one may leave the choir until the office which has been commenced is ended, under the like penalty.

On entering the choir every one shall modestly and devoutly make a reverence, first to God, then to the dean.

Wrangling, chattering, jeering, laughter, must be banished from the choir, each offender for each offence shall pay one halfpenny.

In choir they must stand *erecti et simplices*, or sit *pulchre et honeste*, and diligently perform the appointed duty of the office.

All shall attend chapter daily, two and two, and shall hear what has there to be read, the obits, and the like.

On Sundays they shall go in order, two and two, to the sprinkling of holy water, and afterwards shall stand outside their stalls in choir, ready to take their places in procession.

At procession all shall enter the choir, and go forth from the choir, or else take no part in the procession. In the case of absence from procession a statute of bishop Warham provides that a fine of twelve pence is to be levied, as well from the greater as from the minor canons. If any one intrudes himself into the procession after it has started from the choir, he shall be considered as absent.

If those who take part in the procession are to wear copes, the virgers shall bring a table into the midst of the choir and shall place the copes upon it. Each person in his due order shall approach the table, and quietly, without murmur or confusion, take a cope.

During procession all shall abstain from conversation with laymen or any other persons; breach of this rule involved a fine of two pence.

The cardinals shall diligently note the names of those who fail in their duty, and summon them to appear at the Saturday chapter, that they may be corrected.

Here follows the rule for the Saturday chapter, which rule was read and confirmed at the visitation of bishop FitzJames. It provides that all who wear the habit shall attend the chapter, without exception, that they may hear whatever shall then be treated of in reference to the worship of God and the well-ordering of the Church. They shall hear ill-doers admonished and corrected, and well-doers commended and rewarded. They shall hear whatever may be said by the dean or his vice-gerent concerning good manners and spiritual edification, and whatever else may transpire at the chapter. Whosoever absents himself from this chapter will incur the grave displeasure of the dean and chapter, and will be liable to such penalty (unless he amend) as the dean and chapter may see fit to inflict.

The priests must stand, bow, prostrate themselves, and turn their bodies according to the due order.

The clergy of St. Paul's must not carry weapons (*arma et instrumenta pugnandi*) neither in the city, nor when they take their recreation in the fields. If they would go without the city they must assign a reason for so doing, and obtain the sanction of the dean. If the dean does not deem the reason sufficient, then let that man, whosoever he may be in the church, know that he has no power to depart.

The clergy must not wander about the city, must not frequent taverns, must

not approach suspected places, must not admit to their society suspected persons, nor openly nor secretly talk with women.

All the priests and ministers of the church must remember their oath of canonical obedience, must carry themselves humbly, must not have "a proud look and high stomach," must not make impertinent replies, but must meekly bear the discipline of the dean, lest they violate the aforesaid oath.

In face, dress, carriage, tonsure, and *corona*, they must be as becomes priests. They must not be executors, sureties, *firmarii*, collectors of rents, except for the cathedral.

The priests of the college of St. Peter must obey their warden (*procurator*) and observe his statutes: which statutes shall be submitted to the dean and chapter.

And, finally, they shall all study to please God; shall abstain from evil, shall follow that which is good; shall set a worthy example; shall live holily, soberly, and chastely; shall do always that which is good and fruitful, that they may obtain the favour of God and man.

The earnest words of the statutes cannot but recall to mind the language of dean Colet's epoch-making sermon "made to the Conuocation at Paulis," on February 6, 1511–12:

"Lette be rehersed the lawes and holy rules gyuen of fathers, of the lyfe and honestie of clerkes; that forbydde that a clerke be no marchant, that he be no vsurer, that he be no hunter, that he be no common player, that he beare no weapon; the lawes that forbyd clerkes to haunte tauernes, that forbydde them to haue suspecte familiaritie with women; the lawes that commaunde sobernes, and measurablenes in aparayle, and temperance in adournynge of the body."

And again, the vigorous application of his subject to the consciences of his clerical hearers:—

"If ye wyll haue the laye people to lyue after your wysshe and wyll, fyrst lyue you your selfe after the wyl of God; and so, trust me, ye shall gette in them what so euer ye wyll."[a]

It would be interesting to know what effect was produced by this legislation. Here, at any rate, the dean and his chapter appear to have been of one mind, though there were times when he was "out with his chapter"; if we may borrow a phrase from a sort of common-place book of the early part of the seventeenth century preserved among the cathedral archives.[b]

[a] Lupton's *Life of Colet*, pp. 300—302.

[b] *Registrum Statutorum*, p. 418.

Dean Hook seems to imply that the quarrels which arose in the cathedral were between Colet and those whom he is pleased to call the "underlings" of his church. Colet's own words were plain enough: if he had hard things to say of the "underlings," he had charges quite as hard to lay at the door of the residentiaries. "The residentiaries themselves," he says, "need reformation, no less than the canons did in days gone by. . . They cast aside their care of the church; they pursue their own private gains; they convert the common property to their own private use. In these unhappy and disordered times *residence* in the cathedral is nothing else than seeking one's own advantage, and, to speak more plainly, robbing the church and enriching oneself."[a]

Dean Hook further says:[b] "In Colet's time hospitality was in a transition state. The various officers of St. Paul's cathedral received their salaries, and they expected the dean to keep a table for them, if not, as in times past, every day, yet probably on every festival of the church, at a time when festivals were numerous. We can easily understand how these entertainments in London, among the lower class of the clergy and their dependents, degenerated into riotous living, and brought discredit on religion. The austere dean determined to effect a reform. The munificence of the founder of St. Paul's school was such as to secure him from the suspicion of penuriousness, and Colet acted probably with the full approbation of Warham and the higher ranks of the clergy. It is not precisely what you do that gives offence, but an unhappy manner of doing it. Colet so conducted his reform as to excite against himself the animosity of all the underlings of his church. The dean found it more difficult to contend with the Cretan bellies of his petty canons than to struggle against the Bœotian intellects of his opponents at Oxford."

Upon which it is to be remarked that these poor men, the aforesaid "underlings," may possibly only have been contending for their rights, and that, to use dean Hook's forcible phrase, the residentiaries also had, on Colet's own showing, "Cretan bellies."[c] Nor is it quite so easily to be understood why entertainments under the dean's own eye should have "degenerated into riotous living," or should have "brought discredit on religion." Colet's strict temperance and moderation might rather have had an opposite effect. Mr. Lupton says very

[a] Mr. Lupton's translation of a passage in Colet's *Ordinances*. See *Life*, p. 134, quoting *Registrum*, p. 228.

[b] Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, vi., 288, 289.

[c] The γαστέρες ἀργαί of St. Paul (*Titus*, i., 12) quoting Epimenides.

justly, that Colet "brought the traditional hospitality of the deanery within more decorous limits," and "that this may have been one secret of his unpopularity with a part, at least, of the cathedral clergy," who, every now and then complained, as Erasmus declares, "of being treated as monks."[a] And this, no doubt, is strictly accurate. There were other causes also in operation, as Mr. Lupton shows.

Certainly, if the feasts were quite as prolonged as that of which a humorous story is told in Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorike*, there may have been grave objections to such banquets; but here the chief offender, if indeed the story be more than a playful exaggeration or even a pure fiction, was a person so august that the poor "underlings" dare scarce have raised their eyes to gaze upon his portly presence.

"An Italian having a sute here in Englande to the Archbushop of Yorke that then was, and commyng to Yorke Toune at that tyme, when one of the Prebẽdaries there brake his bread, as thei terme it, and thervpon made a solemne long diner, the which perhaps began at eleuen and continued well nye [till] fower in the afternoone, at the whiche diner this Bishoppe was: It so fortuned that as thei were set, the Italian knockt at the Gate, vnto whom the Porter, perceiuyng his errande, answered that my lorde Bushop was at diner. The Italian departed, and returned betwixt xii. and one; the Porter answered thei were yet at diner. He come again at twoo of the clocke; the Porter told hym thei had not half dined. He came at three a clocke, vnto whom the Porter in a heate answered neuer a woorde, but churlishely did shut the gates vpon hym. Wherevpon others told the Italian, that ther was no speaking with my lorde almoste all that daie, for the solẽne diner sake. The gentleman Italian, wonderyng much at suche long sitting, and greatly greeued because he could not then speake with the Bishoppes grace, departed straight towardes London; and, leauyng the dispatch of his matters with a deare freende of his, tooke his iourney towardes Italie. Three yeres after, it happened that an Englisheman came to Rome, with whom this Italian by chaunce fallyng acquainted, asked hym if he knewe the Bishop of Yorke? The Englisheman saied he knewe hym right well. I praie you tell me, (quoth the Italian) hath that Bishoppe yet dined? The Englisheman, much meruailying at his question, could not tell what to saie. The Italian vp and told him all as I haue saied before, whereat thei bothe laughed hartely."[b]

[a] Lupton, *Life of Colet*, 148; *Vitrier and Colet*, 25.

[b] Thomas Wilson. *The Arte of Rhetorike*. Edit. 1584, pp. 156-7, quoted in Watorn's *History of English Poetry*. Edit. W. Carew Hazlitt, vol. iv., p. 247.

The fact is that Colet attempted a thorough and far-reaching reform. He desired that each man in the cathedral, from the highest to the lowest, should labour faithfully in the divine service; and certainly he set a noble example in his own person of fidelity and earnestness. He endeavoured to recal the Divinity Lecturer to some sense of his responsibilities, who had excused himself from lecturing at all because the statute required that he should lecture *continue*, which, as he acutely observed, no man could do.[a] It was, perhaps, a little unfortunate that this inability to comply with the requirement of the statutes had not produced a corresponding inability to receive the emoluments. Colet tried to arouse the residentiaries, by fervid appeals, from their worldly and covetous spirit. He did his best to quicken the minor canons to greater zeal, to awaken the chaplains from their apathy, and to incite the virgers to greater watchfulness. He was strict, says Erasmus, about canonical obedience.[b] In fact, he laboured hard to effect a sound and religious reform, and he found, as many a reformer has found, both before and since, that he had roused a nest of hornets. It was no petty quarrel between the great dean and the "underlings." Colet stood almost alone: canons, major and minor, even the bishop himself, all against him; though his old friend, archbishop Warham, never forsook him.

It is a pleasant task to rescue from oblivion even this little fragment of dean Colet's handiwork, which forms the subject of the present paper.

[a] Lupton, *Life of Colet*, p. 140.

[b] Lupton, *Vitrier and Colet*, p. 40

APPENDIX No. I.

Excerpta a D. Joanne Colet, Decano, ex libro Statutorum, ea quae concernunt Capellanos Ecclesiae S. Pauli Londinensis.
Statuta edita a D. Joanne Colet, in Visitatione sua MDVI.[a]

Joannes Colet Decanus ecclesiae S. Pauli considerans Capellanos ejusdem ecclesiae ex ignorantia eorum statutorum quae ad eos pertinent posse peccare et etiam in periculum perjurii incurrere: perlecto diligenter libro Statutorum ecclesiae S. Pauli, excerpsit et collegit omnia ea Statuta quae ad Capellanos spectant, ac in libellum hunc redegit, quem in hoc choro hujus ecclesiae S. Pauli poni jussit, ut facile ab omnibus cognoscatur ne deinceps Capellani aliqua ignorantia se excusent.

Excerpta a D. Joanne Colet Decano ex libro Statutorum ea quae concernunt Capellanos ecclesiae S. Pauli.

Sunt in ecclesia S. Pauli sacerdotes qui Cantarias habent, qui progressu temporis devotione diversorum hominum introducti fuerunt in ecclesiam ad augendum et amplificandum honorem Dei. Quorum quidam sequutores chori, quidam coadjutores, quidam aliis nominibus sortiuntur.

Quo ordine Capellani admittendi sunt.

Ordinatum est omnino sanxitum et stabilitum a D. Joanne Colet Decano suis fratribus consentientibus ut Capellani in ecclesia S. Pauli quicunque sint, deinceps non admittantur ad Cantarias suas nisi prius diligentissime examinentur, et nisi bonis testimoniis constiterit eorum vitam et conversationem laudabilem esse. Quamobrem antequam admittatur aliquis presentatus (et hoc a quoquunque presentetur) interroget ante omnia et cognoscat Decanus, qua honestate et

[a] The above heading is not part of the original document.

The manuscript here transcribed is composed of twenty-three leaves of vellum, the first page and the last three leaves of which are blank. The height of a page is $12\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and the width 8 inches—whilst the writing occupies a space of $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{4}$—thus affording very ample margins. The handwriting is very clear and distinct, the character not unlike Roman letters. There are fourteen lines to a full page; some capital letters ornamented with red and blue—the headings to the various sections and the marginalia being rubricated.

It seems probable that the manuscript may have belonged to the Rev. A. C. Onslow, rector of St. Mary Newington, at whose death it passed into the hands of a bookseller, of whom it was purchased by Mr. Richard C. Jackson residing at Grosvenor Park, Camberwell.

quibus moribus sit. Cogat Capellanum ut ducat secum testimonium in scriptis quorundam bonorum virorum, vel sacerdotum vel laycorum, vel potius utrorunque alioquin nequaquam admittatur. Quod si probe testificatum fuerit eum et honestum et moribus idoneum esse, tum exquirat Decanus si habeat sufficientem litteraturam et doctrinam. Et si fuerit Capellanus ille in his qui sectentur chorum, vel in his qui coadjutores vocantur, postquam constiterit de ejus doctrina competenti: mittatur evestigio ad Succentorem, qui testimonium referat D. Decano quod est peritus in cantu. Quod si in illa arte sufficiens ad necessarios chori labores extiterit, tunc antequam admittatur jubeat eum Decanus ut videat fundationem cantariae suae ad quam presentatur, et eam legat et omnia ad quae obligatur ex fundatione agnoscat, assignet ei Decanus ad id tempus sufficiens. Quo facto interroget eum Decanus si arbitretur se eam fundationem servare posse, et si eandem voluerit servare atque jurejurando se servaturum promittere: quod si annuerit, tunc postea quando Decanus graviter admonuerit eum ut caveat quod in se onus suscipiat, et predixerit ei si deliquerit peccatum illius non inultum fore. Si rursum annuerit seriosis verbis quoad eum Deus adjuverit se sanete et inviolate omnia quae fundatio Cantariae suae exigit observaturum, tunc postremo jubeat eum legere quaedam Statuta excerpta et colleeta ex Decretis et Statutis ecclesiae Sancti Pauli Capellanos illius ecclesiae concernentia contenta in uno libello quem fecit describi D. Joannes Collet Decanus dupliciter, et unum librum ligavit in choro, et alium in aula Collegii S. Petri jubeat quod eum Decanus ut eum librum legat, et Statuta illa discat. Et assignet ei Decanus Capellanum alium quem voluerit sobrium et gravem virum qui ducat eum ad libellum illum: qui videat etiam ut illum librum legat. Quod si tum pollicitus fuerit, et promiserit se illa quoque Statuta quoad poterit pro viribus inviolabiliter observaturum, tunc tandem admittatur ad Capellanatum et ad Cantariam illam sub sancto et religioso jurejurando, tactis sacrosanctis Dei evangeliis, ubi juret se servaturum obedientiam in omnibus D. Decano et Capitulo, et secundum Statuta ecclesiae victurum, et secundum regulas fundationis suae facturum alioquin obedienter et libenter castigationem D. Decani sese subiturum. Postremo si consuetudinaliter et habitualiter et post justas admonitiones et correctiones quasi inemendabiliter deliquerit et peccaverit, se privari sua Cantaria facile passurum.

Hunc ordinem deinceps omnino servet Decanus ut in admissionibus diligentiori consideratione adhibita, Capellanorum numerus ex melioribus constet sacerdotibus: utque etiam ipsi Capellani non amplius dicant se ignorare ad quid obligantur utque postremo ecclesia malis sacerdotibus non oneretur, ad magnum Decani gravamen et fratrum turbationem, qui semel introducti etiam quomodoqunque exorbitaverint difficillime ejitiuntur.

Juramentum quod omnino present Capellani quicunque fuerint illi in prima admissione sua ad Cantarias suas, sine quo jurejurando ad Cantarias suas in ecclesia Sancti Pauli nequaquam admittantur.

IN DEI Nomine Amen. Ego N. juro quod ero obediens D. Decano et Capitulo in licitis et canonicis mandatis.

Item fundationem seu officium meum ad quod admissus sum et laudabiles consuetudines

ac Statuta ecclesiae S. Pauli observabo. Et si (quod absit) in parte vel in toto non observare contigerit, correctiones in eisdem fundationibus, Statutis et consuetudinibus limitatas subibo, et me humiliter subiturum promitto.

Item si in eisdem poenas meis demeritis dignas taxari non contigerit, poenas arbitrarias juri non contrarias et expresse repugnantes humiliter subibo.

Item querelis quibusquunque provocationibus et appellationibus earumque ac juris et facti remediis et benefitiis mihi in premissis, vel ex eorum occasione quoquunque modo competentibus, et de cetero competituris, renuncio hic pro perpetuo, eisque omnibus cedo, et ab eisdem recedo totaliter et expresse in his scriptis. Et si contrarium egero me nunc pro tunc perjurii reatum incurre expresse profiteor.

Item juro insuper quod contra juramentum meum predictum dispensationem non impetrabo. Et si aliquam mihi gratis offerri contigerit, ea non utar ullo modo. Sic me Deus adjuvet et sancta Dei evangelia.

Omnes ad assignata sibi altaria celebrent. Celebraturi autem candidis supercilitiis induti accedant ad altare et super ea sacerdotalia vestimenta induant. *Celebrent supercilitiis.*

Celebrent autem quotidie qua tenus possunt, ne debitis suffragiis suos fundatores defraudent.

Caveant ne alieni et extranei sacerdotes ad sua altaria missas dicere assueseant, et tales ingerentes se vetent et arceant, donec in ea re voluntatem Decani et Capituli intellexerint. *Extranei ne celebrent.*

Ipsi autem sacerdotes etiam omnes suis stipendiis contenti, alia aut annua servitia, aut subsidia, aut trigintalia, aut quodvis alia ejusmodi quoquunque nomine censeatur, non accipiunt ab alienis extraneis personis ut pro illis celebrent sub quoquunque colore. Aliter autem si fecerint ad arbitrium Decani et Capituli de stipendiis eorum pro poena aliqua portio detrahatur. *Alia servitia.*

Omnes majoribus festis intersint divino officio: matutinis, primis, missis, vesperis. *In festis.*

Chorum autem sectantes qui sunt ii qui dies noctesque divino officio interesse obligantur: omnes una in Collegio S. Petri maneant et convivent et mensam illic et cameram teneant. *Sectantes chorum.*

Antequam vere admittantur a Succentore vel ab altero Cardinalium si convenientem facultatem canendi habeant quo possint quotidianis laboribus chori subvenire; alioquin omnino repellantur. *An canunt.*

In funeribus omnium qui sunt ex habitu in ecclesia S. Pauli ac in toto funebri officio eorum omnes sacerdotes et Capellani omnino ex pura eorum charitate presentes sint et pro defuncto orent, memores morituros esse se ipsos, ac facientes ut in simili casu velint alios pro se facere. *In funeribus.*

Nemo habens benefitium ecclesiasticum vel aliud quodqunque quod personalem residentiam requirat admittatur ad perpetuam Cantariam in ecclesia Sancti Pauli: talis admissio si quando fuerit semper pro nulla habeatur. *Si benefitium ecclesiasticum.*

Item quando aliquis sacerdotum, Cantaristarum, Capellanorumve ad benefitium vel aliud

quodqunque quod personalem residentiam desiderat vocetur: evestigio ejitiatur ab ecclesia, et ad id ad quod vocatus est statim ire compellatur.

Cantariae unitae. Omnes habentes Cantarias unitas sectentur chorum quotidie pariter cum aliis sectatoribus, ut pro exaucto emolimento exaugeatur labor. Et juramento in admissione eorum astringantur, ut in domo Collegii Sancti Petri in mensa cum aliis convivent, et in suis illic cameris condormiant.

Non vagabundi. Omnes etiam habentes Cantarias in ecclesia Sancti Pauli non solute vagentur per urbem, nec aliquo se conferant extra urbem nisi petita licentia antea a D. Decano et obtenta. Item nisi ostensa rationabili causa et eadem approbata et nisi die assignato quando reverteretur, alioquin poena ad arbitrium D. Decani et Capituli esto.

De obedientia Decani. Sacerdotes et ministri qui in ecclesia Pauli D. Decano et Capitulo se subjecerint et canonicam obedientiam spoponderint: nequaquam audeant ab authoritate et jurisdictione ordinarii sui: id est: Decani et Capituli resilire, sed pacienter et obedienter sicuti decet in omnibus causis judicium D. Decani et Capituli expectent, agnoscentes

De obedientia Decani. se non introductos fuisse in ecclesiam S. Pauli ut superbia et dedignatione et appellandi audatia vel conturbent vel confundant superiores suos et prepositos: sed ut eos suos pios patres et ordinarios judices cum omni humilitate et reverentia cognoscant et confiteantur, et ut sub virga eorum censoria vivant, atque ut pro recte factis velint ab eis laudari, ita in peccatis eorum ab eisdem: id est: a Decano et Capitulo, se reprehendi et corrigi: ac pro qualitate criminis se castigari paciantur.

Poena superbis justissima. Quod si aliquis eorum qui Cantariam habet in ecclesia Sancti Pauli alium sibi querere judicem quam suum Decanum presumpserit, statim sua intolerabili superbia a cetu et conventu jure ejitiatur, et omnino privatus omni benefitio et officio in ecclesia pro non Cantarista perpetuo censeatur.

Statuta edita a D. Joanne Colet Decano ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli simul cum Capitulo in visitatione sua quam exercuit Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Sexto: die Vigesimo Junii: Et Decanatus sui anno primo.

Ingressus chori. Injungimus, jubemus, et obsecramus in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi et Sancti Pauli cui servimus in hac ecclesia. Imprimis ut omnes ministri qui obligantur ad chorum diu noctuque in principio cujusque horae statim ingrediantur, alioquin mulcta et poena unus denarius esto.

Egressus chori. Si sit justa causa egrediendi non ante finitam horam in qua illa causa urgeat egrediatur aliquis: alioquin mulcta unus denarius esto.

Dum ingreditur. Ingressus quisque modeste et devote primum Deo, tum Decano, toto corpore decenter inclinet.[a]

Decorum servandum. Rixa, confabulatio, cachinnus, risus, longe absit a choro: qui deprehenditur poena totiens quotiens unus obulus esto.

[a] Compare *Registrum*, p. 231. (Dean Colet's *Epitome of the Statutes*). Canonici ingredientes, ad Orientem, in ipso chori medio, primum Deo, tum versi in Occidentem, Decano inclinent, etc.

In choro erecti et simplices vel stent vel sedeant pulchre et honeste: et ea quae ad divinum officium pertinent, agant, duntaxat et sollicite et diligenter: alioquin post justam admonitionem aliqua poena ut videbitur Decano et Capitulo esto. *Agant quae chori sunt.*

Ad Capitulum omnes in choro singulo quoque die et bini et bini et lento gressu pulchro et distincto ordine se conferant lectionem illic et obitus et alia audituri necessaria. *Capitulum.*

In dominicis diebus ad aspersionem aquae benedictae etiam bini et bini ordine eant: et post extra stalla in choro ordine stent parati ut ex suo quisque loco prodeat in processionem. *Processio.*

Ad processionem omnes antea in choro et ex choro prodeant: alioquin ipso die a processione abstineant. Et pro absentia secundum Statutum De Willm̄i Warham[a] Londoñ Episcopi ad quod observandum omnes jurati sunt poena duodecim denariorum esto. Et haec poena delinquentium est non solum minorum sed etiam majorum Canonicorum. *De Processione.*

Item si qui se inferant in processionem postea quod prodierit ex choro, pro absente reputetur. *Processio.*

Item si quando processio erit cum capis, tunc proponatur tabula a virgifereriis in medio choro, et super eam ponantur capae: ad quam accedat unusquisque ordine suo, et capam quiete sine turba et murmure accipiat. *De capis sumendis.*

Inter procedendum caveant omnino et abstineant a colloquio cum laycis et aliis quibusqunque personis: quae si se ingerant repellantur donec finita fuerit processio, alioquin poena duorum denariorum esto. *Inter procedendum.*

[a] The Statute of bishop Warham here referred to will be found at p. 210 of my *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli*. It is one of a series of statutes assented to by the dean and chapter, and by the bishop, and duly sealed with their respective seals on the 20th of December, 1502.

"Statutum est quod omnes Canonici Majores, eciam non residentes in civitate, presentes singulis diebus dominicis et ceteris festis duplicibus majoribus et minoribus, Regis Capellanis qui eisdem ffestis coram sua majestate celebrare tenentur exceptis, in habitibus suis singulis processionibus in dicta Ecclesia fiendis, necnon processionibus generalibus quociens fieri contigerit per totum tempus earundem, nisi morbo, et senio, aut alia causa racionabili, per Decanum et Seniorem Residenciarium in ejus absencia approbanda, impediti, sub pena amissionis xij denariorum, tociens quociens eos abesse contigerit, intersint. Et tres vergiferi, prestito per eos et eorum quemlibet ad sancta Dei evangelia coram Decano qui pro tempore fuerit juramento corporali, nomina, ut premittitur, absentis vel absencium Canonicorum eidem Decano, et eo absente seniori Residenciario, bene et fideliter notificabunt. Et si dictos absentes aut eorum aliquem per octo dies post lapsum dicti diei quo eum aut eos abesse contigerit, in solucione dictorum xij denariorum dicto Decano vel Seniori Residenciario negligentes aut remissos fore contigerit, ij denarios pro qualibet die post lapsum dictorum octo dierum quo continget dictam summam xij denariorum non solutam ad communam utilitatem dicte Ecclesie dicto Decano aut Residenciario solvere tenebuntur. Quorum quidem xij denariorum una medietas tribus virgiferis sic notificantibus, et alia medietas simul cum pena solucionis ij denariorum ad communem utilitatem dicte Ecclesie applicabitur."

Cardinales diligenter admoneant et notent eos qui deliquerint et Sabbatis Capitulo proponant ut corrigantur.

De generali Capitulo Sabbatis omnino observando.

Hoc Statutum etiam in visitatione D. Ricardi Fizejamis[a] *Episcopi et recitatum et confirmatum fuit.*

Singulo quoque Sabbato sit frequentissimum Capitulum congregatis universis in ecclesia qui sunt ex habitu, nemine excepto, omnia etiam excusatione posthabita: ut audiant et intelligant

De Capitulo Sabbatali.

quidnam in domo Capitulari Sabbatis tractetur ad Dei cultum et bonum ecclesiae ordinem. Audiant etiam quod deliquentes admonentur et castigentur, quod benefacientes laudantur et remunerantur. Audiant deinde quid ad institutionem bonorum morum et edificationem spiritalis vitae dicetur a Decano vel ejus vicem gerente sabbatis. Audiant postremo et intelligant si quid agatur in Capitulo quod ad eos pertineat: videlicet: ad vitam, ad mores, ad Cantarias eorum, vel ad quodvis aliud quod illorum interest agnoscere.

Hanc Capitularem congregationem sabbatis volumus tam sancte et celebriter observari ut si quis abfuerit agnoscat se gravissimam indignationem D. Decani et Capituli incursurum subiturumque postremo (nisi se emendaverit) poenam ad arbitrium Decani et Capituli assignandam.

Stationes, inclinationes, prostrationes, conversiones, juste (ut decet) serventur.

Arma non ferenda.

Sacerdotes et ministri ecclesiae S. Pauli arma et instrumenta pugnandi nec in urbe nec in agris (qum scilicet solum recreandi gratia illic spaciantur) nequaquam ferant: alioquin poena ut videbitur Decano et Capitulo esto.

Non exeundum sine licentia.

Si quis sacerdotum et ministrorum exeat urbem iturus aliquo: primum ostendat justam causam exeundi, et talem quam Decanus approbet et licentiam petat et impetret.

Si D. Decanus causam ejus non admiserit, nec probaverit, tunc plane agnoscat vir ille quicunque sit in ecclesia potestatem se exeundi non habere.

Non vagabundi.

Sacerdotes et ministri ecclesiae Sancti Pauli non vagi discurrent per urbem: tabernas non frequentent, suspecta loca non adeant, suspectas personas ad se non admittant, nec aperte nec secrete cum mulieribus confabulentur, alioquin poena ad arbitrium Decani et Capituli esto.

Sacerdotes omnes in ecclesia Sancti Pauli et Cantaristae et ministri universi agnoscant juramentum suum quod prestiterint D. Decano suo de canonica obedientia: et intelligant in hoc juramento includi et contineri: ut humiliter se gerant, tumentem stomachum ex superbia non habeant: verba et vultum dedignabundum non ostendant: contumeliosa responsa non faciunt: authoritatem D. Decani et justas ejus objur-

Vis Juramenti.

[a] The one statute of bishop Fitz James, printed in my *Registrum*, pp. 213-4, does not relate to the matter under discussion. Richard Fitz James, bishop of Chichester, was translated to the see of London, 2 August, 1506

gationes ac castigationes ferant: preceptis eis pareant: alioquin agnoscant se juramenti sui violatores et plane perjuros esse et periculo ac poenae perjurii subjacere oportere.

Vultus, habitus, gestus, incessus, tonsura, corona, sint convenientia, et omnia ubi deceat sacerdotes.[a] *Decorum servandum.*

Executores, fidejussores, firmarii, collectores reddituum (nisi fuerit pro ecclesia Sancti Pauli eo modo ut Decano et Capitulo videbitur) nequaquam sint: nec aliud officium quodqunque quo possint impediri a divino officio, et minus exequi id quod obligantur facere, non subeant ullo modo: alioquin poena arbitraria esto.[b] *Non externa officia.*

Sacerdotes ex Collegio S. Petri[c] suo procuratori et obediant, et eidem debitam reverentiam exhibeant, et Statuta sua servent. Ipsa autem Statuta semper examinationi et judicio D. Decani et Capitulo subjitiuntur. *Ex Collegio Petri.*

Universi Deo placere studeant: abstineant a malo: sectentur bonum: honestum exemplum ostendant: sancte et sobrie et caste vivant: agant semper quod pulchrum est et fructuosum, ut sic possent laudem a Deo et hominibus promereri.

[a] Compare *Registrum*, p. 232:

"Tonsura, vultu, habitu, gestu, omni denique motu tales sint, ut deceat."

And cardinal Wolsey's *Statutes for the Augustinian Canons* (Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. iii., p. 686):

"§. VIII. In tonsura vero omnes cum coronis quam secularium clericorum amplioribus et crinibus ad medietatem aurium praescissis seu amputatis humiliter incedant, sub poena regularis disciplinae, ad discretionem praelatorum delinquentibus imponenda."

(In which passage Wilkins suggests that for "coronis *quam*," we should read "coronis *non more*.")

[b] Compare *Registrum* p. 234. Statutes concerning the vicars.

[c] St. Peter's college. Compare *Registrum*, pp. 236, 241.

APPENDIX No. II.

List of Chantries in St. Paul's in the fourteenth century, from the original MS. in the cathedral records.[a]

c. s.	Cantaria Ricardi & Stephani de Graveshende *occupat*	Dominus Robertus de Kyngeston
c. s.	Item Dominus Bartholomeus *occupat* eandem Cantariam	
jx. m.	Cantaria Walteri Freel *occupat*	Dominus Martinus
c. s.	,, Ricardi atte Grene *occupat*	,, Willelmus Crullyngs ad secta
viij. m.	,, Reginaldi de Brandon ,,	,, Simon de Charweston
vj. m.	,, Ricardi de Wendover ,, *idem*	,, Simon ————
c. s.	,, Nicholai Housebonde ,,	,, Johannes Cristemasse
vj. m.	,, in Capella Domini Episcopi in Ecclesia Sancti Pauli *occupat*	,, Ricardus Pertynhale
c. s.	,, Roberti de Mundene ,,	,, Johannes Colchestre
vj. m.	,, Willelmi de Haverhille ,,	,, Johannes Norwyck
vj. m.	Cantaria Fulconis Lovel *occupat*	Dominus Henricus Rykmersworth
vj. m.	,, Rogeri Benyn ,,	*Idem* Henricus ————
c. s.	,, Radulphi Baldok ,,	Dominus Hugo de Malkynton
c. s.	,, ejusdem Radulphi Baldok ,,	,, Willelmus Lyndon
vj. m.	,, Ricardi de Neuport ,,	,, Robertus Salle
vj. m.	,, Johannis Romain ,, *sine secta*	*Idem* Robertus
c. s.	,, Willelmi de Everdon ,,	Dominus Adam Gaddesby
vij. m.	,, Johannis de Pulteneye ,,	,, Johannes Potton
vj. m.	,, Willelmi de Melforde et Plessy *ut credo occupat*	*Idem* Johannes
vij. m.	,, Rogeri de Waltham *occupat*	,, Robertus Norwyck
vij. m.	,, ejusdem Rogeri ,,	,, Thomas Preston
x. m.	,, Henrici de Guldeforde ,,	,, Johannes Albon
vij. m.	,, Johannis de Pulteneye ,,	,, Ricardus Hope
viij. m.	,, Galfridi de Stone ,,	,, Petrus Trenyns
vij. m.	,, Johannis de Pulteneye ,,	*Idem* Petrus

[a] Press. A. Box. 75. Document No. 1954.

c. s.	Cantaria	Nicholai et Johannae de Wokyndon	*occupat*	Dominus Willelmus Trofforde
viij. m.	,,	Willelmi de Sanctae Mariae ecclesia	,,	,, Willelmus Copmanthorp
vj. m.	,,	Jacobi Frisel	,,	Idem Willelmus ut spero
v. m.	,,	Martini de Patishulle	,,	Dominus Thomas Branktre
v. m.	,,	ejusdem Martini	,,	,, Johannes de Zettoñ
v. m.	,,	Radulphi Donion *occupat*, *ad sectam*		Idem Johannes
jx. m.	,,	Johannis de Braynford *occupat*		Dominus Walterus Wonborn vel Georgius
xxx. s.	,,	Petri de Neuport	,,	Idem Walterus
c. s.	,,	Fulconis Basset	,,	Dominus Robertus de Keteryngham
c. s.	,,	ejusdem Fulconis	,,	,, Warinus
c. s.	,,	ejusdem Fulconis	,,	,, Willelmus Cosagne
x. li.	,,	Godefridi de Aere et Godefridi Wesenam	*occupat*	,, Robertus Wyssyngdon
vj. m.	,,	Isabellae Bokerell	,,	,, Radulphus Waynflete
vj. m.	,,	ejusdem Isabellae	,,	,, Robertus Kirkeby
vj. m.	,,	Johannis Lovel	,,	,, Willelmus Hyde pro Hospitio Ricardi Pyrcton
jx. m.	,,	Walteri Thorp	,,	,, Henricus Wasewes
vj. m.	,,	Roberti de Drayton et Johannis de Chishull	*occupat*	,, Willelmus Megre
viij. m.	,,	Alanni et Avelinae progenitorum		,, Willelmus *commorans ad W. Cologne*
viij. m.		Fulconis Basset	*occupat*	
vj. m.	,,	Johannis Fabel	,,	,, Thomas Kendale
c. s.	,,	Willelmi de Chaldeshunte[a]	,,	,, Johannes Dunhale ad Decanum est
jx. m.	,,	Rogeri de la Leye	,,	,, Reginaldus Spaldyng
vj. m	,,	Walteri Blokkele	,,	,, Simon Swaveseye
vj. m.	,,	Henriei de Wyngham	,,	,, Ricardus Everdon
vj. m.	,,	ejusdem Henriei	,,	,, Johannes Brewode
vj. m.	,,	Ricardi Folyot	,,	Idem Johannes
xl. s.	,,	Alexandri Swereford	,,	Dominus Thomas Joles

[a] This chantry of William de Chaldeshunte was commonly called "Helle." (Mr. Maxwell Lyte's *Calendar*, 55 b.) No reason is assigned. Is it possible that the walls of the chantry chapel were painted with a representation of Hell. There is a singular example of the use of the name Hell in *Mercurius Pragmaticus* for December 7, 1648:—

> "The House being thus clensed, in came that pure holy Goblin *Nol Cromwell* . . . and the case of the apprehended Members being reported, how that they had been kept up all night out of bed in the cook's house called *Hell*, *Harry* [*Marten*] would needs break a jest: that *since Tophet was prepared for Kings, it was fit their friends should goe to Hell.*"

viij. s.	Cantaria	Johannis Wyngham	*occupat*	Dominus	Thomas Wardele	
vj. m.	,,	Hugonis de London	,,	,,	Willelmus Oloofs	*Decanus confert.*
vj. m.	,,	Eustachii Faucomberge	,,	,,	Johannes Pluncton	
v. m.	,,	Galfridi Lucy	,,	,,	Andreas	
vj. m.	,,	Avelinæ de Sancto Olavo	,,	,,	Nicholaus Wasshingborn *et male occupat*	

plus in dorso

vj. m.	Cantaria	Galfridi de Sancto Dunstano	,,	,,	Ricardus Amburstone
vj. m.	,,	Nicholai de Farindon	,,	,,	Willelmus Godridi
c. s.	,,	Alani Hothom	,,	,,	Johannes Lynton
c. s.	,,	ejusdem Alani	,,	,,	Willelmus Hudbroke
x. m.	,,	Gilberti de Bruera	,,	,,	Radulphus Multon
x. m.	,,	Johannis Hiltoft	,,	,,	Johannes Hiltoft
vj. m.	,,		,,	,,	Henricus Rector de Grasestrete
	,,	Cantarias duas pro animabus Regum et Episcoporum Londoñ *occupat*		,,	Rogerus Wynchcoumbe
				,,	Ricardus Mogyctun
	Cantariam	Henrici de Idesworthe			
	,,	Ricardi de Sancto Albano			
	,,	Johannis de Sancta Maria			
	,,	Roberti Canonici			
	,,	Ricardi Episcopi			*vacant*
	,,	Henrici de Edelmetone			
	,,	pro progenitoribus sancti Rogeri			
	,,	Ricardi			
jx s.	,,	Hamonis de Chikewelle			

APPENDIX No. III.

Chantries united by bishop Braybrooke in 1391.

Walter Thorp	*united with that of*	John de S. Olavo.
James Fresell or Frysell	,,	John Romayn.
Alanus & Avelina Bassett	,,	Progenitors of S. Roger.
Eustace Falconberge	,,	W. de Haverhill & John Grantham.
Two chantries of Henry Wengham		
Richard of Gloucester	,,	Rich. Foliot.
Walter Blokley	,,	Will. Harworth.
Henry Idesworth	,,	Michael Northburgh.
Two chantries of Isabella Bokerell		
Galfridus de S. Dunstano	,,	Canon Roger.
Alexander Swerford	,,	Hamo Chikewelle.
John Pulteney	,,	John Lovel.
Roger de la Ley	,,	John Fabel.
Will. Everdon	,,	Ralph Dongeon.
Fulke & Philip Bassett	,,	Richard Hosbonde.
Fulke & Philip Bassett	,,	Peter Newport.
Fulke Lovel	,,	John Braynforde.
Richard Grene		Martin Pateshull.
Two chantries of Rich. Wokyndon & Johanna his wife.		
Two chantries of Roger Waltham	,,	Fulke & Philip Bassett.
Walter Exton	,,	Philip Fauconberge.
Will. Everdon	,,	John Wyngham.
Two chantries of Ralph Baldok		
Two chantries of Alan Hothum	,,	John S. Mariae Eccles.
John Munden	,,	Third chantry of John Pulteney.
William de Melforde & Rich. Pleysses	,,	Second chantry of John Pulteney.
Reginald Brandon & Rich. Wendover	,,	Two chantries of Rich. Newport.

APPENDIX No. IV.

Abstract of Chantries existing in St. Paul's in 1 *Edward VI.*

Name of Founder.	Total Value.	Number of Priests.	Paid to the Priests.
	£ *s.* *d.*		£ *s.* *d.*
Thomas Stowe	15 6 8	1	8 0 0
Raffe Baldocke	45 13 4	2	16 0 0
John Powltney	45 9 8	3	14 0 0
Robert Munden, John Lovell,			5 4 8
William Milworthe, Rich.			4 2 8
Plesses	16 6 8	3	4 18 0
Roger Waltham	29 16 0	2	13 6 8
Roger Holme	46 12 0	4	[a]
John Hiltofte	10 0 0	1	6 13 4
Gilbert de Bruera		1	6 13 4
Richard Wendover	18 8 8	1	4 0 0
Richard Fitz James	14 6 8	1	8 0 0
John Dowman	22 0 0	2	16 0 0
Beatrice de Rosse	8 0 0	1	8 0 0
John Wythers	21 1 8	2	16 0 0
William Say	15 0 0	1	9 0 0
Godfrey de Acra	13 2 8	1	[a]
Thomas Evor	16 0 0	1	6 13 4
Water Sheryngton	20 0 0	2	17 0 0
James Frisell, John Romayn	11 0 0	1	[a]
Duke of Lancaster	20 0 0	2	16 0
Nicholas Wokyngdon	8 0 0	1	[a]
Eustace Faconberge, William Hamshill, John Grantham	8 17 4	1	[a]
Martyn Patteshall	12 0 0	1	[a]
William Everdon, Raffe Doungeon	8 12 8	1	[a]
Water Thorpe	11 16 0	1	[a]
Reynolde Brandon	12 0 0	1	[a]
Fulke Lovell, John Brayfelde	17 2 8	1	[a]
Roger Waltham	13 6 0	1	[a]

[a] Amount not stated.

Name of Founder.	Total Value.	Number of Priests.	Paid to the Priests.
	£ *s.* *d.*		£ *s.* *d.*
Philip Basset	6 13 4	1	[a]
Thomas More	67 6 0	4	36 13 0
Will. Buschope,[b] Gerard Braynbroke, Edmond Hampden, John Boyes, Roger Albrighton	12 17 8	1	[a]
Water Blockley, Will. Shalteshunte	10 8 8	1	8 8 8
Henry Gulforde	14 5 0	1	6 14 4
Sir John Beauchamp	12 8 8	1	6 12 4
Geffrey Eyon, Geffrey Lucy	10 6 8	1	6 14 4
John Fabell, Agnes De la Lay	19 0 0	1	[a]
Michell Worborowghe, Henry ——[c]	8 6 8	1	[a]
Thomas Kempe	4 14 8		Augmentation.

The above abstract is condensed from the Return of Chantries made 1 January, 1 Edward VI., printed *in extenso* in Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, pp. 380—387.

The total number of chantries here enumerated, counting united chantries as one, is 36; and the annual value of these 36 chantries amounts to £646 6*s.*

These chantries were served by 52 priests; the total annual amount of stipend paid to them, as indicated in the return, is £244 18*s.* 8*d.*, but in eighteen cases the amount of stipend is not stated. Assuming that each of these eighteen priests received an annual payment of £8, there must be added to the last named sum a further amount of £144. The gross income of the fifty-two priests would, in that case, be £388 14*s.* 8*d.*, giving an average income of £7 9*s.* 6*d.*

In addition to these chantries, Dugdale gives a further list of obits, fifty-four in number, the total annual income of which amounts to £104 1*s.* 2*d.* (Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, pp. 387—390.)

APPENDIX No. V.

Note on the Colleges adjacent to St. Paul's.

The recent examination of the cathedral records,[d] the result of which will be found in the

[a] Amount not stated.

[b] That is, bishop William.

[c] The omitted name is probably Idesworth.

[d] *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report No.* ix., pp. 1-72. The references which follow are to the pages and columns of that report.

admirable report of Mr. Maxwell Lyte, has made it possible to determine with accuracy the sites of several of the colleges in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral.

Holme's College was in the parish of St. Gregory and on the south side of the cathedral. In 1386 the dean and chapter assigned to Roger Holme a certain piece of ground on the south side of the church for the erection of houses for the chaplains of a chantry founded by him, and the two other executors of Adam de Bury, in a chapel lately built near the north door of St. Pauls', behind the Cross (28 *b*). The cathedral possesses the will of Adam de Bury (48 *a*). In 1465, certain shops and other buildings were newly erected under the rooms of the chaplains of the chantry commonly called Holme's College, within the precinct or cemetery of St. Paul's. The college is mentioned in a deed of 3 Edw. VI. (13 *a*); whilst a deed of 27 Hen. VIII. describes a tenement near to the college, as being bounded on the west by Holme's College, on the south by the king's highway, and on the north "by the greene yarde called the tymbre yarde" of the cathedral (13 *a*).

Lancaster College, the residence of the priests attached to the important chantry of the duke of Lancaster, stood over against the great south gate of the cathedral.

Minor Canons' Hall was near Pardon Church Haugh, and this lay to the east of the palace of the bishop of London, and therefore on the north side of the cathedral. Here lay the great garden of the minor canons.

St. Peter's College was the ancient name of the college of the minor canons.[a]

In the mansions called prestes houses thirty chaplains were dwelling in 1424.

Dean Thomas More's chantry chapel stood in Pardon Church Haugh, and its priests had a corporate seal (55 *a*).

The tenement known as the vicarage of the vicars choral was bounded on the east by the Penitenciary's house, on the west by Ave Maria Lane, on the south by the highway leading through St. Paul's churchyard, and on the north by the bishop's palace (45 Elizabeth, 27 *a*). In 1571 the six houses commonly called "the syxe chambers of the syxe laye vicars," in the parish of St. Gregory were demised by the dean and chapter and the vicars choral to Raphael Hamonde, the Queen's Capper (13 *a*).

John Sayward, junior cardinal, held a mansion house "by virtue of hys office of cardinall shippe" on the north side of the cathedral in 1574 "lyenge one the west side of the alley commonly callede Pisinge Alley, leadinge from Paules Church into Pater Noster Rowe (27 *b*).

The close of the chaplains of St. Paul's is stated in another document to be near the house of the vicars.

"The value of divers chapells within the precincte of the cathedrall churche of Paules" is stated in the Return made 1 Edward VI., as follows:

Charnell Chappell	-	-	-	2	0 0
Peter Colledge -	-	-	-	6	0 0
Sherington Chappell	-	-	-	0	6 8
Lancaster Colledge	-	-	-	1	0 0
Holmes Colledge	-	-	-	2	0 0
				11	6 8

[a] *Documents illustrating the History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society, p. lxviii.

IX..—*On a bas-relief symbolising Music, in the cathedral church of Rimini.*
By J. G. Waller, *F.S.A.*

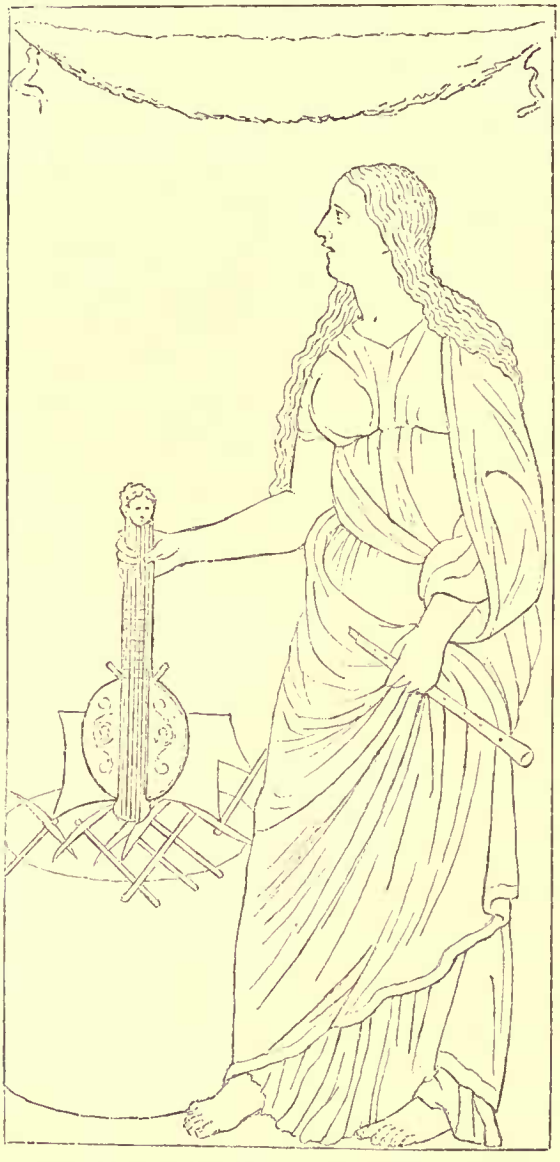
Read May 9, 1889.

The figure on which I am about to offer some remarks, is one of eighteen bas-reliefs on the piers supporting the arch leading into the chapel of S. Gaudenzio, in the cathedral church of Rimini. All the subjects represented are worthy of some notice, but this, being an unique symbolism of music, specially commended itself to me. I made a drawing of it under somewhat difficult circumstances, and it is my intention to set before you, if possible, the motives which influenced the artist in its design. These are evidently of classic origin and the suggestions of a scholar. Now, very few artists of the period of the early Renaissance had any claim to be so called. Their education began in the studio (*bottega*), and they entered it at so early an age that there was little time for the humanities. We have it on record by Vasari how some, Botticelli for instance, cared nothing for school learning, yet there are works in the Uffizi by this artist full of classic knowledge, and, to my mind, the most interesting of his productions. In fact, the artist worked under the instruction of the clergy, as regards his treatment of ecclesiastical subjects; it was dangerous to travel too much out of the circle, for a charge of heresy might ensue, which was really suggested against poor Botticelli, one certainly as innocent of theology, except that taught him, as he was of Horace or Virgil. We possess a painting of his in our National Gallery, mentioned by Vasari in connection with the cleric's name who suggested its treatment. It is very orthodox in its elements.

In the revival of the study of the literature of Greece and Rome, which is termed the Renaissance, it was natural that there should be a coincident study of ancient art and mythology. It was thus that a scholar became the director, just as the clerk was in medieval times. This is really a very interesting subject to follow up in full, but at present I must confine myself to an endeavour to point out that one who influenced the artist in the Tempio Malatestiano, as the cathedral church of S. Francesco is frequently called. First, however, I must describe and illustrate the figure in question.

Usually music is very simply symbolised. Of the same period, or nearly so, as that to which we must assign the example at S. Francesco is one by Luca della Robbia, a bas-relief upon the Campanile of Giotto at Florence, whereon it is merely as a female playing on a lute. At Rimini it is a female figure in an ample tunic (perhaps the *stola*) flowing to the feet; her hair curling down over her shoulders, and her mantle (more properly *pallium*) covering the left shoulder

only, but gathered in folds round the waist, and held up by her left hand, in which is a pipe; and she is singing. In her right she holds a lute, the neck of which terminates in a head, possibly intended for that of Apollo, which form is also seen in the beautiful sculptures by Luca della Robbia, now preserved in the Bargello at Florence. On the body of the lute, forming part of the ornamentation, are two medallions, of which I can say nothing, if indeed they have any particular meaning. The base of the lute rests upon a cylinder, upon which is an anvil and a series of hammers, six in number, of a peculiar shape, more like what we call "picks."



Bas-relief symbolising Music, in the cathedral church of Rimini.

The details here given are intended to represent not only all the varieties of sound which constitute music, but also an allusion to theory according to classic traditions. First, the human voice, the most beautiful as it is the most perfect of all instruments of music. Then the pipe, symbol of wind instruments, the *tibia* of antiquity, claimed as the most ancient of artificial means of musical sounds, though this was disputed by the advocates of the lyre, the stringed instrument in favour, as appears in the treatise on music by Plutarch. Indeed, the contest between Marsyas, a celebrated performer on the *tibia*, and Apollo, may be considered as the decisive struggle for the superiority of one instrument over the other. The pipe here represented differs little from that in use by the Italian *pifferari* of the present day, doubtless a very ancient form, as it is seen in the hands of the fauns and other lesser sylvan deities. It has, however, a mouth-piece by which all qualifications are made, as developed in the modern flageolet, clarionet, and oböe.

But the association of the voice with the tibia and lyre, performed by women, was the favourite accompaniment of a feast, abundantly shown in many passages of Horace, who seems to be particularly happy, under such conditions, especially when with his friend Mæcenas. Thus in his ode to him :

> Tecum sub alta (sic Jovi gratum) domo
> Beate Mæcenas, bibam
> Sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyrae.[a]

In another place (Epist. I. xiv. 25) he indicates that the morals of the feminine performers were, or had become, loose, as "meretrix tibicina." The rule, not only with Greeks and Romans but also with Egyptians, seems to have been for women to be the musicians, as appears by a fresco in the British Museum. Several paintings discovered at Pompeii represent women with the lyre, which became the most favoured of instruments, especially the heptachord, which Pindar, in the second Pythian ode to Hiero, alludes to with praise under the name *φόρμιγξ*.[b] The sculptor, however, has not given us the lyre, but the favourite stringed instrument of his own day all over Europe, and which it was considered part of a gentleman's education to be familiar with. This is abundantly shown in paintings, especially of the Flemish school, but a curious document of a father's advice to his son about to travel is extant, showing that Polonius' advice to Laertes had its prototype, even in "bid him ply his music." George, eighth lord Cobham, after a series of instructions to his son William, tells him "at vacant tymes to playe upon the lute, etc."[c] A good lute player meant indeed a good companion, as Albert Durer, in a letter to his friend Pirkheimer, commends his Italian friends at Venice as "good lute players."[d] But the artists of the Renaissance, in the interpreting of classical ideas, often deviated from archæological accuracy, for Raphael, one of the best instructed among them, in his fine fresco in the Vatican, paints Apollo as playing upon the violin, though the well-known form of the lyre is seen in many other of his works.

There is another musical instrument of antiquity in favour, the *kithara*, which, I believe, was distinct in form from the lyre.[e] The Spanish *guitarra* is derived from

[a] Horatii Flacci, *Epodon Liber*, ix. 3.

[b] *τὸ Καστορειον δ'ἐν' Αἰολίδεσσι χορδαῖς ἐκὼν*
ἄθρησον χάριν ἑπτακτύπου
φόρμιγγος ἀντόμενος.
Pindari Carmina. Pythia II.

[c] Harl. MS. 283, f. 171. [d] *Vide* Letter II. in Mrs. Heaton's *Life of Albrecht Dürer*, p. 70.

[e] The lyre had several names, as *lyra curva*, which applies well to all its developments, *barbiton*, *φόρμιγξ*: both these are given to the heptachord; also Testudo and chelys, in allusion to the shell of the tortoise, of which it was first made, or of which it formed a part.

the Latin, which, being identical with the Greek word, we may suppose differed but slightly in its pronunciation. But as the languages of Latin descent ignore *th* for *t*, we find the sound of both words, *kithara* and *guitarra*, as nearly as possible the same. I am told also by a lady, who is well conversant with modern Greek, and who has spent four months at Athens, that *kithara* is the term now given in Greece to the guitar type of instrument. This type is ancient enough, as it is seen in the Egyptian fresco to which I have already alluded, and in Assyrian remains. By the courtesy of our Fellow Mr. A. S. Murray, I was shown an example in a relief of the time of Augustus, of Romano-Greek work, a cast of which is in the British Museum, obviously the forerunner of the Italian lute. It is also to be remarked, that cithern and lute are often given as synonymous terms in translations of the Elizabethan era. I cannot, therefore, but think that the *kithara* was a stringed instrument with a body and neck, as the guitar, lute, mandoline, etc. In medieval times the name was applied to very varied forms, the *cythera Anglica* being a harp of very elegant shape, whilst the lyre in its primitive form is absolutely found in miniatures as late as the ninth, and even the eleventh century.[a]

Kithara on a Romano-Greek bas-relief of the time of Augustus.

I now come to the most singular part of the composition, viz., the anvil and the hammers, and there is no doubt that this refers to a legendary story related by Nikomachus, Gaudentius, Jamblichus, Macrobius, and others "that Pythagoras one day meditating on the want of some rule to guide the ear, analogous to what had been used to help the other senses, chanced to pass a blacksmith's shop, and, observing that the hammers, which were four in number, sounded very harmoniously, he had them weighed and found them to be in proportion of six, eight, nine, and twelve. Upon this he suspended four strings of equal length and thickness and fastened weights in the above-mentioned proportions to each of them respectively, and found that they gave the same sounds that the hammers had done, viz., the fourth, fifth, and octave to the greatest tone; which last interval did not make part of the musical system before; for the Greeks had gone no further than the heptachord or seven strings till that time." Unfortunately this story comes rather late. Diogenes Laertius, who died A.D. 222., is the earliest writer who speaks of the life, etc., of Pythagoras, and he merely

[a] Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. viii. It is remarkable that in this miniature we have, besides the lyre, the double pipe as in early classic times. Also in a MS. at Angers of the eleventh century, where David is represented playing on the lyre in its early shape. *Vide* Coussemaker, in the *Annales Archeologiques.*

says "that he discovered the numerical relation of sounds on a single string." Porphyry, who died early in the fourth century, is the first who tells of the anvil and hammers. It is therefore remarkable, that, as Pythagoras left no writings behind him, such a story should have obtained credence without dispute, and that it should have required modern science to dispose of the facts. Dr. Burney remarks "that noises proceeding from bodies non-elastic or immusical can never be softened into sound." At the time in which this bas-relief was executed, however, it was fully believed in. A treatise entitled *Theoricum Opus Musicæ*, by Franchinus Gaforus, was printed by Francesco di Dino, at Naples, in 1480, a copy of which is in the library of the British Museum. This contains a wood engraving of an anvil upon a cylinder composed of a trunk of a tree, and around are six men with hammers wielded aloft in act of striking. Each hammer is labelled IIII. VI. VIII. VIIII. XII. XVI. This varies from the story above given of the four hammers, but quite agrees with our sculpture, which shows six, as also in the form of anvil. The chapter of this treatise to which the engraving is an illustration, and which is printed as an appendix to this paper, is entitled *De Inventione Consonanciarum*, and it enters elaborately into the story of Pythagoras and the hammers with their different weights and the harmonic intervals resulting: diapason, diapente, diatessaron, etc., as if the whole matter had been mathematically determined. In the interesting account of music given by Plutarch musical consonancy is fully gone into with the intervals and terms precisely as in the Italian treatise, but from the authority of Plato, and there is no mention of hammers. Even the allusions to Pythagoras are very brief, it being merely said that he reproved all judgment of music that is by the ear, but there is not a word throughout that upholds the traditional story, which must therefore be of later date, as Plutarch died in the second century of our era, and the story is not found until the fourth. That it lasted so long is only one of the many instances we have of the difficulty of getting rid of a popular error.

I have thus gone through the several details illustrating the classic origin of the motives by which the artist has been directed. There is yet one other which escaped my attention but is mentioned in the excellent work on Rimini by Yriarte, viz., that on the border of the mantle or pallium are the words *Chlamys Luæ*, an explanation of which I hardly hazard.[a]

[a] It is just possible that it may have been suggested by this passage in Plutarch's dialogue following the discussion on harmony:

"But also the senses which through harmony are innate, celestial some and divine, which with God give understanding unto men, sight and hearing, represent harmony with the voice and *light*."

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις αἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγγιγνόμεναι (διὰ την ἁρμονιαν), αἱ μεν οὐράνιαι θεῖαι οὖσαι, μετὰ θεοῦ τὴν αἴσθησιν παρεχόμεναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὄψις τε καὶ ἀκοὴ, μετὰ φωνῆς καὶ φωτὸς τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἐπιφαίνουσι.

We have now to discover the artist and his director. There can be little doubt of either. In the history of the art of the Renaissance of Italy one name stands prominently forward of a man of more than ordinary ability and attainments; a precursor of Lionardo da Vinci, and having much in common with that brilliant genius, Leon Battista Alberti. Of a Florentine family long persecuted unto the death by the Albizzi faction, he was educated in the university of Bologna, distinguished himself as a scholar, was an astronomer, a physician, ultimately dedicating himself to the arts, but especially to architecture. Sigismund, lord of Rimini, one of the most eminent of the remarkable family of Malatesta, as well as of the *condottieri* of his time, in the plenitude of his power conceived the idea of a reconstruction of the cathedral church as a monument of his family, Tempio Malatestiano. He confided this task to Alberti, whose design, however, became modified to an adaptation of existing work and was never completed. In what he did he showed the greatest skill, and produced an original work in which it is impossible not to feel the fascination of genius. In the façade of the structure, never completed, and having undergone barbarous treatment, one sees that he took his inspiration from the arch of Augustus, of which the remains still exist over one of the streets of Rimini. It was thus one of the first erections of the Renaissance through classic influence. Alberti was therefore the prime director, and as an accomplished scholar we need seek no other. We have now to find the artist, but this involves little difficulty in the exactness of modern research.

To discover an artist's hand there is nothing so convincing as the evidence of style, yet it is singular how often this is overlooked. But to proceed from the known to the unknown is generally safe and conclusive. In this case there is but little room for doubt, in that view alone, but it has some corroboration also. On the façade of San Bernardino, at Perugia, we have a series of sculptures so absolutely identical in character and execution that it at once points to the same hand as that seen in the cathedral church at Rimini. Fortunately here the artist has blazoned his name proudly on the frontal:

OPVS AVGVSTINI FLORENTINI LAPICIDAE
MCCCCLXI.

This Italian habit of signing only the christian name leads into many difficulties, and Vasari accordingly has fallen into the error of making this Agostino the brother of Luca della Robbia. This error has, however, been corrected; the real name in full was Agostino d'Antonio di Duccio, and the work at Perugia

was subsequent to that at Rimini. It was the misfortune of this artist that he was compelled to fly from Florence on an accusation of theft, so for some years he was an exile, and it was during part of that time that he must have executed the sculptures at Rimini. A letter sent to Sigismund at Siena from his chancellor, Pietro de' Gennari, speaks of some slight work wanting to complete the sepulture, and which will be completed when Agostino returns from Cesena. This was in 1454, and it is consistent with facts which would account for a certain interval in his life. An Agostino at Rimini in 1453 and at Perugia in 1461, and the absolute identity of style, leave no doubt as to the sculptor employed. It is extremely probable that whilst he was in exile at Venice he became acquainted with Sigismund, at that time general of the Republic, and which led to his employment in the cathedral church.[a]

APPENDIX.

De Inventione Consonanciarum. C. viii.

Perquirente Pithagoram musicas consonancias relicto aurium iudicio que partim natura partim extrinsecus accidentibus permutantur partim ipsis variantur etatibus ad regularum momenta legimus demigrasse nihil ei fidei diversa prebuerunt instrumenta penes que sepe multa varietas atque inconstantia nascebatur, nam si nervos conspitianus vel humidior aer pulsus obtundit vel siccior excitat vel corde magnitudo sonum reddit graviorem vel subtilior tenuat acumen vel alium quodammodo prioris constantie statim permutat. Accidit enim ut dum tanta Pithagoras ipse variatione perplexus fabrorum officinas preteriret malcorum sonitus eius auribus insonarent quos cum ei mos esset omnium visibilium invisibiliumque et sensibilium rationes perserutari mutari jussit, advertensque diversos malcorum sonitus non viribus hominum immutari sed ex diversis evenire malcorum, ponderibus, pondera ipsa examinare cepit et cum quinque essent malei quintum ejecit secundum Boecium quum cunctis erat inconsonans quattuor vero sibi invicem extremos duplum correspondere pondus diapason consonantiam consonando percepit ut si malcus primus sit vi.

[a] In the excellent account of Rimini and the family of the Malatesta by Charles Yriarte, entitled "Un condottiere au XV. Siecle," etc. are collected together the researches of the Italian and other writers who have corrected Vasari, and have identified the sculptors of the works in the cathedral church. Vide pp. 407, 408, 409, in reference to Agostino.

librarum ultimus vero xii. Secundus quippe ad primum epitritum habebat pondus diatessaron consonantiam continens eratque librarum viii. Tertius autem ad primum emiolium sive sexqualterum conprehendebat pondus cum librarum esset viiii. diapentes consonantiam servans. Idem vero tertius ad secundum sexquioctavum pondus servabat. tonum constituens Itemque tertius ad ultimum epitrito seu sexquetertio pondere jungebatur diatessaron consonantiam aptans. Secundus vero ad eundem ultimum emiolio sive sexqualtero servabatur pondere diapentes consonantiam producente, disponamus igitur ordine naturali maleorum quattuor pondera hoc modo vi. viii. viiii. xii. Cum vero alta cogitatione tante tamque archane rei diuturna inquisitio Pythagoram ipsum fatigasset minime dubitandum est quin nonmodo quattuor ipsas consonantias sed et ceteras enucleare temptaverit quibus musices disciplina assidue divergitur licet enim quattuor ipsi malei ad instar musices mundane quattuor elementis condite quattuor ipsas probati sint producere consonantias extimandum tñ est atque tenendum Pithagoram quintum non rejecisse maleum sed potius et sextum resumpsisse. Videmus namque fabros navium ancoras atque hominum armaturas non sex maleis modo vero et octo vel decem sibi alternatim correspondentibus fabricare. Quo circa cum sex essent ferentium malei ignitum ferrum molientes ictibus graviores acutis ita consonabant certo sibi invicem correspondentes ordine ut utrumque ad audientis sensum statuta dimisione remearet ex variis pulsibus unum sibi consonans offerendo. quos adiens Pythagoras mutari precepit existimansque pondera inequaliter sese sibimet copulari eorum proportiones colligens uniusenjusque malei proprium examinat pondus. At cum primus maleus esset quattuor librarum ponderis. secundus sex tertius octo. quartus novem quintus duodecim. sextus sexdecim libras ponderis continebant que quidem singulorum pondera consequenti hic ordine collocentur hoc modo iiii. vi. viii. viiii. xii. xvi. Primus namque maleus ad secundum sexqualterum proportionem comprehendebat diapentes consonantiam servans. Secundus vero ad tertium sexquetertiam collationem diatessaron consonantiam producentem constituebat. Rursus primus ad tertium in duplo constitutus est numero diapason consonantiam respondendo. Rursus tertium ad quartum in sexqueoctava proportione sese habet tonum constituens. Secundus vero ad eundem quartum sexqualteram statuit collationem diapentes fatiens consonantiam. Tertius ad quintum in sexqualtera proportione diapentes consonantiam format. Quartus ad quintum sexquitertiam custodiens diatessaron produeit. Rursus primus ad quintum in tripla proportione constitutus diapason diapentes consonantiam jungit. Sed secundus ad eundemquintum diapason consonantiam in dupla proportione constituit. Item secundus ad sextum diapason diatessaron solam in genere superpatienti constitutam tradit per duplam superbipartientem proportionem. Rursus primus ad sextum quadruplam proportionem copulat bisdiapason consonantiam creans. Tertius ad sextum dupla collatione conjunctus diapason consonantiam format. Quintus vero ad eundem sextum sexquitertia proportione connexus diatessaron consonantiam constituit. Atque ad hunc modum Pithagoras ipse musicas has consonantias speculatione ac ratione deprehendit non nisi ex numerorum proportionibus produci easque regulis ac ratione apperuit que prius solo sensu percipiebantur corruptibili que quidem omnia apertissime monstrantur in hac figura.

A wood-cut then represents six men with hammers aloft as striking upon an anvil placed on the trunk of a tree. Each hammer has its weight marked in order, iiii. vi. viii. viiii. xii. xvi.

X.—*A Revised History of the Column of Phocas in the Roman Forum.*
By F. M. Nichols, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read May 16, 1889.

It may be of interest to the Society if I submit to its notice some observations made last year, which render it necessary to re-write the history of one of the best known monuments of Rome.

The monument, which for fifty-six years has been called the Column of Phocas, was formerly, when nothing but the pillar itself was seen above ground, the subject of much curiosity and speculation among the visitors of the Forum. The "nameless column with the buried base"[a] was thought by some to be the sole relic of a great temple or other public building. By others it had been conjectured to be part of the famous bridge by which Caligula united his palace on the Palatine with the temple of Capitoline Jupiter. In the early years of the century, among other works of the same kind, it was resolved to clear away the soil and *débris* from the substructure of this column; and on the 13th of March, 1813, the inscription of its pedestal, which had remained for centuries a few feet below the level of the ground, was uncovered, and revealed the fact that it had supported a statue dedicated by the exarch Smaragdus to the honour of a Caesar, whose name had been erased, but who, by other indications, could be no other than Phocas, an emperor of evil reputation, but to whom Rome and the world owe some gratitude for having been instrumental in dedicating the Pantheon to Christian worship, and so preserving from ruin one of the noblest and most original architectural works of antiquity.

As I propose to enter further into the history of the monument, it will be well to give the inscription in full. The want of the emperor's name, and other deficiencies arising from later damage or accident, are supplied within brackets:[b]

[a] Byron, *Childe Harold*, canto iv.

[b] I copy the restorations from Jordan's Sylloge of Inscriptions of the Forum (*Ephemeris Epigraph.* iii. 299); but I believe the words are the same as those restored by Fea in 1818 on the monument itself, the holes being filled up with stucco. Nibby, *Roma Antica*, ii., 151.

OPTIMO CLEMENTISS[IMO PIISSI]MOQVE
PRINCIPI DOMINO [N. FOCAE IMPERAT]ORI
PERPETVO A DŌ CORONATO TRIVMPHATORI
SEMPER AVGVSTO
SMARAGDVS EX PRAEPOS. SACRI PALATII
AC PATRICIVS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE
DEVOTVS EIVS CLEMENTIAE
PRO INNVMERABILIBVS PIETATIS EIVS
BENEFICIIS ET PRO QVIETE
PROCVRATA ITAL. AC CONSERVATA LIBERTATE
HANC STA[TVAM MAIESTA]TIS EIVS
AVRI SPLEND[ORE FVLGE]NTEM HVIC
SVBLIMI COLV[M]NA[E AD] PERENNEM
IPSIVS GLORIAM IMPOSVIT AC DEDICAVIT
DIE PRIMA MENSIS AVGVSTI INDICT. VND.
PC̄· PIETATIS EIVS ANNO QVINTO

It will be observed that the date furnished by this inscription is the 1st of August in an eleventh indiction, in the fifth year of the *principatus* of an emperor, and during the exarchate of Smaragdus. Smaragdus filled at two different times the office of exarch, first in the years 583 to 588, and afterwards from 602 to 609. The first period was in the reign of Mauricius, and did not comprise either an eleventh indiction or the fifth year of an emperor. The second period included the year 608, when the 1st of August fell in an eleventh indiction and in the fifth year from the consulate of the emperor Phocas.

On the discovery of this inscription the long debate about the origin of the monument was concluded. It was now regarded beyond doubt as a memorial erected in honour of Phocas; and the observation which was at once made, that the column itself, which formed the most ornamental portion of the design, was apparently borrowed from an earlier structure, was thought to harmonise well with the knowledge which had been obtained respecting the origin of the monument.

The archaeologist, Carlo Fea, who had charge of the excavation, appears to have been somewhat surprised to find that the work was to be attributed to so late an epoch. He concludes the announcement of his discovery with the remark that, when the column should be isolated and the entire monument visible from a proportionate distance, it would show that at a time hitherto believed to be

barbarous and destitute of art they had still not only some good sculptors and letter-cutters, but also architects who knew how to carry out the ideas, which were not without grandeur, of those who were in a position to give orders and to supply the means for executing them.[a] Nibby, on the other hand, appears to have been more struck with the coarseness and inferiority of the lower part of the work, which appeared to him not unsuitable to the period to which it was now assigned. He characterises it as a pyramid of steps adorned with awkward mouldings, which contrast wonderfully with the style of the column, and show how wretched was the state of the arts at the beginning of the seventh century.[b] Bunsen, now that its true character was found out, scarcely deigns to describe "the Phocas column, the painful and pitiful composition of plundered materials which forms the memorial of one of the most execrable tyrants of Byzantium."[c]

Since these judgments were passed upon the character of this monument, it has naturally not been thought worth while to spend much time upon it. The sentence has gone forth,

"Non ragionam di lui, ma guarda e passa,"

and it does not appear to have struck any archaeologist since Fea as a matter of wonder that a work of so much grandeur and dignity, unique in its design among Roman monuments, and at the same time thoroughly classic in its form, and presenting withal some difficulty in its construction, should have been erected, amid the decaying ruins of the Forum, in the seventh century.

No one, I think, who for a moment reflects on the improbability to which I have just alluded will be surprised to hear that there is really no evidence at all that the Column of Phocas was erected in honour of that emperor.

As I was looking over the details of this monument in the spring of last year, a careful examination of the inscription convinced me that it was cut upon a surface from which an earlier epigraph had been erased. That a circumstance so

[a] Quando questa colonna sarà tutta isolata fino al piano antico e alla proporzionata distanza, saremo persuasi che in quel tempo, già creduto barbaro e senza arti, questi ancora avevano de' buoni scultori e incisori di caratteri, e architetti che sapevano secondare le idee bastamente grandiose di chi poteva comandare e spendere. Fea, *Varietà di Notizie*, 67.

[b] Una piramide di gradini, ornati di goffa modinatura, che contrastano mirabilmente collo stile della colonna e mostrano come miserabile fosse lo stato delle arte sul principio del secolo settimo. Nibby, *Roma Antica*, ii., 152.

[c] Die Phocas-säule, das mühsam und erbärmlich zusammengeraubte Denkmal eines der fluchwürdigsten Tyrannen von Bysanz. Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, iii., 2, 116.

important to the history of the monument should have escaped the attention of the curious from the year 1813 to 1888 may appear to my hearers extremely improbable. The only explanation I can give is this, that the removal of the ancient surface has been executed with some skill, and does not reveal itself even to a practised eye at the first glance. It is a satisfaction to me to be able to add, that before the end of the season I had the good fortune to visit the place in company with Professor Mommsen and another able epigraphist, and I think I may say that, though both these authorities were disposed at first to hesitate in accepting my conclusion, they were convinced before leaving the spot that it was well founded.

The fact so ascertained leads only to a negative result. It relieves us from the necessity under which we supposed ourselves to lie, of believing that the column was erected in the year 608. It is, however, important to observe, that the literal and natural interpretation of the inscription upon which that belief depended does not really make any such inference necessary, since Smaragdus is not stated to have constructed the monument in honour of Phocas, but only to have placed and dedicated a statue to his eternal glory upon this lofty pillar: *hanc statuam . . . . huic sublimi columnae ad perennem ipsius gloriam imposuit ac dedicavit.*

The conclusion to which we naturally arrive is this, that the exarch did no more than command the subservient authorities of Rome to erase the inscription in honour of the personage to whom the column was originally dedicated, and to substitute that in which his own name and that of his master were recorded. We may suspect that the statue resplendent with gold, which represented to the Romans the person of their unknown sovereign, was also a borrowed work. But the inscription testifies to the figure having been placed on the column by the order of Smaragdus; and it is not improbable that the monument had already been robbed of the statue with which it was originally crowned.

Having found these reasons for rejecting the received opinion concerning the origin of this monument, I have naturally taken some interest in the question which is thus left open, and of which only an approximate solution can be expected; since we have nothing left us to determine its date and history except what may be found in the general character of the design and in an examination of the details of its structure.

The design consisted of a Corinthian column surmounted by a bronze statue, and standing on a rectangular pedestal, which was itself placed upon a truncated pyramid cased with marble steps.

It may be observed in the first place, as bearing on the epoch of its construc-

tion, that this design, while it is simple and noble in effect, is not founded upon any other Roman monument of which we have any knowledge, and is perfectly classical; by which I mean that it has no trace even of the dawn of mediæval invention. It is certainly not a design which, apart from the inscription, we should think of attributing to the seventh century.

In the next place it is manifest, without any minute examination, that some of the most important parts of the structure are better executed than the rest, and have been evidently taken from some building or buildings of an earlier date. The work, therefore, must be ascribed to that degraded period of Roman art when public monuments, even of high pretensions, were built with borrowed materials. This epoch had already begun, as is well known by the example of the arch of Constantine, at the beginning of the fourth century.

To carry further our knowledge of the origin and history of the work, we must examine more minutely the several parts of which it consists.

The column is a Corinthian pillar of white marble, probably of Luna, of a height, including base and capital, of about 48 feet. The capital and base are in separate pieces, and the shaft made up of seven drums. The column is much weathered and shattered, but was not originally of high excellence, and may probably be attributed to the second or third century.

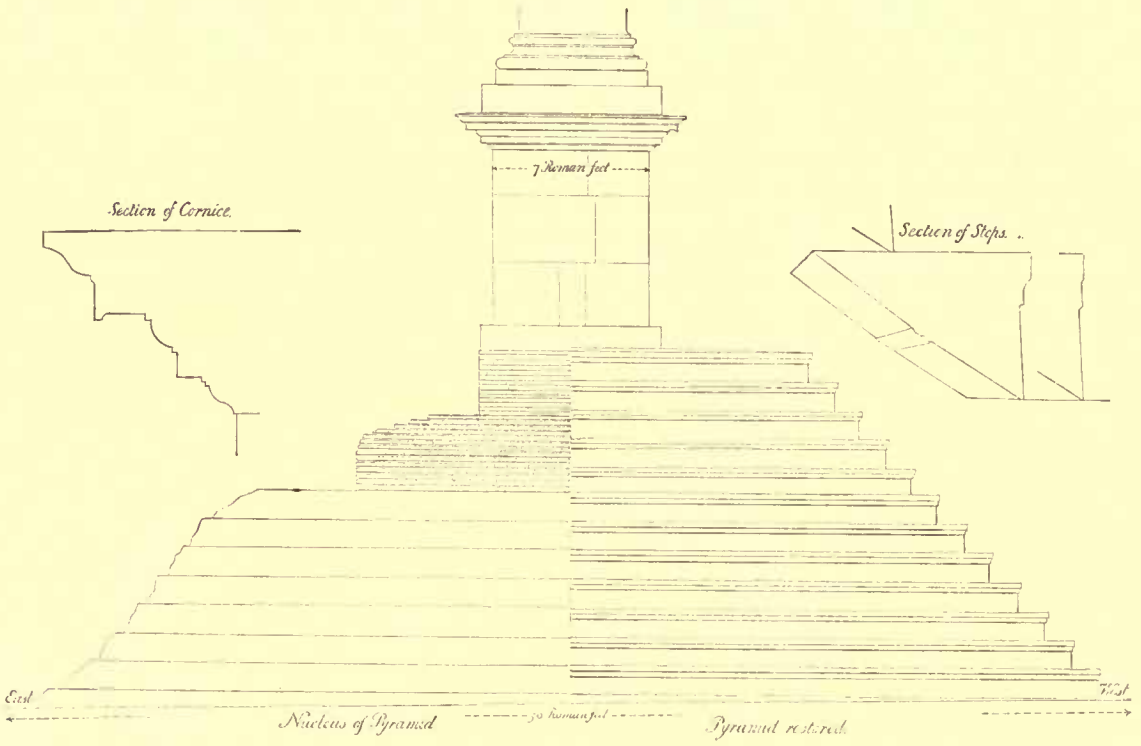
The base is what is called Attic. Its plinth, which is about $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet square, stands upon a sub-plinth composed of a block of marble about 8 feet square and one foot high. This is placed upon the cornice of the pedestal.

It should, however, be observed, that the sub-plinth and the column above it do not stand accurately on the centre of the pedestal, but a little nearer to the east side of it. This deviation can scarcely be due to any later movement, but must, I think, be attributed to a want of care, or skill, in erecting the column in its present situation.

The pedestal consists of cornice, body, and plinth. The cornice, which is much damaged owing to its having been for many years at or near the ground level, is a well-executed work of plain geometrical moulding. The type of its design is one that was not uncommon at a good period, the members being the same and arranged in the same order as in the handsome cornice of the podium of the arch of Titus. A fragment of a cornice with a similar series of mouldings was dug up last year in the ruins of the temple of Julius, to whose podium it may perhaps have belonged.

The cornice is made up of four pieces, with good joints, now a little parted by weather; and the well-executed corners are evidently part of the original work. It was doubtless taken from some earlier building, apparently a pedestal of similar

dimensions to that which it now covers. And I see no reason why it should not have accompanied the column in its former position. This suggestion implies that the column was not taken from the portico of a temple or similar building, but had been before erected upon a pedestal as an isolated monument. It may be



Elevation of the lower part of the Column of Phocas. Scale 1:100.
Scale of details 1:20.

remarked in passing that a distinguished Italian archaeologist, Professor Lanciani, once suggested that this column might perhaps have been taken from the round temple near the Tiber, commonly called the Temple of Vesta, where one Corinthian column is missing. It is curious how the isolation of the column in the Forum appears to lessen the impression of its height. The columns of the so-called Temple of Vesta are about 35 feet high, this column about 48 feet.

The body of the pedestal, which is of a square form, 7 Roman feet in width and 8 high, is built up of several pieces of marble, arranged in three courses. The blocks of marble appear to have been well put together with fairly good joints, now somewhat parted by weather. The surface is much broken by holes,

apparently made by mediæval spoilers in seeking for the metal clasps which were commonly used in buildings of the best time. But whether the depredators were successful in finding such clasps in this pedestal, I have some doubt. The sides have no mouldings or sunk panels, and are, or were, plane well-smoothed surfaces. The inscription, which is on the north side, in the direction of St. Adriano (the ancient Curia) is cut in sixteen lines upon the two lowest courses. The whole of it is upon an erased surface somewhat rougher than the original plane surface, and not very much lowered by the erasure, which does not extend over the upper part, nor as far as the corners of the pedestal. It follows that the earlier inscription, which appears to have been also in several lines, and to have occupied nearly the same space as the later one, was cut in very shallow letters.

It is affirmed by Fea that the whole of the top of the pedestal is inserted within the cornice, made of one piece of marble, as in a sort of sheath: "a curious arrangement," as he says, and "perhaps not seen anywhere else." This curiosity of construction is entirely imaginary. The cornice, as I have already mentioned, is, in fact, in four pieces. And the body of the pedestal, being of later work than the borrowed cornice, is not perfectly fitted to it; but so far from being inserted in it, it has its upper line on the north and south sides, projecting a little in front of the bottom of the cornice, instead of being placed, as it should be, a little behind it. On the two other sides the two lines come more closely together. In fact, the later constructed pedestal is not perfectly square.

Instead of a moulded basement, corresponding in character with the cornice, the pedestal rests on a simple plinth or slab of marble, about 1 foot 2 inches (0·35 metres) in height, and about 8 feet square; the measurement from north to south (2·36 metres) falling short of the measurement in the other direction (2·43 metres) and of 8 English feet by nearly 3 inches.

This marble slab rests on a substructure of brickwork, 8 feet (2·43 metres) square, and about 2 feet 9 inches in height, which rises from the middle of a larger pier, 18 feet (5·50 metres) square, built of hard rubble or concrete, and faced on its four sides with walls of brickwork, of which a height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet is visible, but which appears to continue to a further depth, and probably extends down to the foundation of the monument; the lower part of the brickwork being surrounded by the rubble constituting the interior of the pyramid which forms the lowest part of the design. The brickwork of these substructions has the characteristics with which we are familiar in the latest classical buildings of Rome (the bricks especially being of very various dimensions) and is some-

what inferior to that of the seven piers opposite the Basilica Julia, which belong to the time of Diocletian or Constantine.

The base of the pyramid occupies an area 50 Roman feet square. This round measure, *decempedis metata*, like the terrace of the Rostra, 80 feet in width, and the hundred-foot portico of the Temple of Castor, is not without interest. The nucleus of rubble, principally composed of large pieces of tufa with fragments of marble and brick, is placed upon the pavement of the Forum, which does not appear to have been disturbed; but at the west corner (towards the Temple of Saturn) there are visible the remains of an earlier monument, of no great size, which was probably removed with several others to make room for the one we are describing.

The sides of the pyramid were faced with marble steps, $15\frac{1}{3}$ inches (0·39 metres) high, and about 14 inches wide, of which the best remains are on the south side, where the two lowest steps are missing, but the rest are nearly complete to the eighth step. At this level there is now a sort of platform about 30 feet (9·50 metres) square surrounding the brick pier, but there can be little doubt that the pyramid was originally carried to a higher level, probably ending in a smaller platform at the foot of the marble pedestal. This arrangement would require five more steps. Rossini's engraved view, made when the excavation was recent, seems to show some trace of steps above those that are at present in position. On this supposition the pyramid had thirteen steps on the east side, but as the ground rises towards the west, the steps on that side were twelve.

The marble steps appear to have been made for their present use. Each piece (generally the half of a rectangular block, sawn diagonally across) has a roughly executed moulding in front of the tread. Both Nibby and Bunsen observe that some of the materials of the steps are borrowed from other buildings; but all the marble blocks used for this purpose which I have seen appear to be of the same work,[a] though some pieces, notably one lying on the north side, have the moulding somewhat more carefully executed. Possibly the missing steps on the principal front, below the inscription, may have been better finished than those on the other side, and for this reason may have been preferred for removal. The form of the steps may be seen in the accompanying drawing, where the two outlines represent the moulding in the more carefully executed and in the rougher form.

[a] Of course I speak here of the blocks of marble properly belonging to the monument. The place of the missing steps is now in a great measure filled up with blocks of stone taken from other ruins.

Reviewing the details which we have described, the parts of the monument which we recognise as constructed of original materials are the pyramid, the central pier, and the pedestal with its marble plinth and brick substruction, but without its cornice. The cornice and all above it appear to be borrowed, and were borrowed not improbably from an earlier monument of a similar kind, which may have stood in the Forum itself, the principal alteration introduced into the design being the elevation of the column with its pedestal upon the top of a pyramid; an idea that may have been suggested by some monument in one of the Oriental Greek cities. A pyramid with steps formed, it will be remembered, part of the tomb of Mausolus.

The epoch of the erection of the column, as it now stands, must be determined mainly by the character of the work. We have fixed on the beginning of the fourth century as the time when monuments of importance began to be built in Rome with borrowed materials. We find an example of this in the round temple of Romulus in the Sacra Via, as well as in the arch of Constantine; and in the new parts of both these buildings, and also in details of the Basilica of Constantine, we may see how utterly at that period not only the art of sculpture, but all sense and appreciation of architectural form in its correctness and purity were lost. The mouldings, for example, which had before been usual upon certain pieces of architecture, were either omitted altogether, or rendered in a surprisingly rough and incomplete way. The buildings are wanting in Rome by which we might trace on a large scale the progress or decline of architecture during the fourth century. But some inscribed pedestals lying in the Forum and elsewhere, especially several of Constantius and of Gabinius Vettius, furnish examples both of the mouldings and of the incised letters of this period. Some of the inscriptions are very shallow, and many of them are on erasures. I may observe that I do not think the epigraphists have been careful in observing the latter circumstance. It might well be expected that in many cases, especially in the Forum, where room could scarcely be found for a new monument, or even a new statue, without removing one already existing, it would be found convenient to use an old pedestal rather than replace it by a new one, the execution of which would be inferior to that of its predecessor. It is curious to observe how on one of the large pedestals in the Comitium inscribed to Constantius, which appears to have originally belonged to the Flavian period, the workman has been inspired to imitate in some degree the style of the erased inscription, and the letters are of better form and deeper cut than the other inscriptions of the same date.

It is difficult for any person to realise the depth of degradation to which Roman art and Roman taste in reference to public monuments had fallen at the

end of the fourth century, without being acquainted with the monument erected in honour of the army of Stilicho, which has been, not many years since, disinterred in the Roman Forum. It consists of a rough cubical block of travertine, upon which is set an oblong marble pedestal, which originally sustained an equestrian statue, but which is here placed on one of its ends; and across the side facing the Curia is cut an inscription in honour of the soldiers who had been successfully employed against the Goths. If the Romans of the time of Honorius were contented to place so grotesque a structure *in celeberrimo loco*, close to the Rostra and the Comitium, in a Forum that had not yet been desecrated by the feet of barbarian conquerors, what sort of monument should we expect to be reared in the midst of ruins two centuries later? Side by side with this memorial of the achievements of Stilicho, the monument appropriated to Phocas appears a model of classic dignity and correctness.

The considerations which I have mentioned appear to me to make it extremely improbable that this monument is of a later date than the latter half of the fourth century. The special characteristic of the commencement of that century, which we see so strikingly illustrated by the example of the Basilica of Constantine, is that, while their architects were still capable of designing and constructing a great architectural work on the most stupendous scale, they do not appear to have had an eye to judge, or a hand to execute correctly, the simplest architectural ornament. The same characteristic in a humbler way reappears in the Phocas monument. The general design is sufficiently dignified. The execution of the details is miserable, but not much inferior to what may be seen in the façade of the temple of Romulus; the brickwork is a little worse than that of the time of Constantine, and the shallow cutting of the original inscription finds a parallel in other inscriptions of the fourth century. If the chronographers had mentioned a monument erected before the Rostra in honour of the great Theodosius, we might be content to find it in this. That the person to whom the monument was dedicated was of no less than imperial rank is sufficiently shown by its magnitude, and by its situation in a place which for many centuries had been crowded with memorials of the most distinguished Romans, and from which a multitude of such memorials must have been removed to make room for its erection. It is not improbable that the marble *plutei*, or screens, sculptured in honour of Trajan, which were discovered near the Phocas column, were removed at this time to the place where they were found and where they now stand. The rough and unequal travertine bases on which they were found show that they have undergone removal, and on the other hand the subjects of their bas-reliefs make it probable that their original position had some relation to the Rostra.

The conclusion at which we thus arrive respecting the origin of this monument, in the absence of all documentary evidence, is necessarily vague. Its date however (in the second half of the fourth century) may, I think, be regarded as approximately ascertained. The effigy of gilded bronze with which it may be assumed that it was originally crowned, was probably removed in one of those devastations to which Rome was subjected in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Of its later history one chapter is recorded in the inscription of Smaragdus. The name of Phocas was probably erased soon after his death. And if the gilded statue with which it was again adorned was not thrown down on the same occasion, it may have contributed its weight of bronze to the spoils which Constans II. carried away from Rome in the year 663. It would be a curious coincidence if the image of Phocas was shipped as part of the same cargo with the gilded bronze tiles of the Pantheon, the preservation of which up to that time was in some measure due to his munificence.

The supposed *erection* of this monument in honour of Phocas has suggested an inference of some importance concerning the history of the decadence of the Forum, the pavement of which, it was concluded, must have remained at its ancient level in the seventh century. This inference no longer holds, since it is obvious that the inscription might have been altered after the level had considerably risen. It is interesting in this connection to remember that the neighbouring Curia, now the church of S. Adriano, was consecrated for Christian worship in the same century.

The monument itself bears upon its surface some striking indications of the successive changes of the level of the ground. The most curious of these consists of some holes near the bottom of the marble pedestal, which can only, as far as I can guess, have been useful to attach a light chain or rope for the tethering of horses or cattle, when the level of the ground was at the top of the pyramid. Of these holes, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, there is one pierced through each corner of the pedestal.

There is also evidence in the weathering about half way up the pedestal, especially seen on the south side, that the ground level remained at that height for some time. In this condition of the ground one or two lines of the inscription would be visible above it.

Another mark on the column itself is worth notice, as it seems to indicate that the monument was at one time attached to, or included in, some mediæval building. This is a square hole, at about two-thirds of the height of the column on the south side (towards the Basilica Julia), which looks like the resting-place

of a beam or rafter. It is certain, however, that no building of any weight could have been made to lean against the column without affecting its stability.

Of documentary evidence relating to the history of the column in the middle age there is scarcely any. Only in a bull of pope Innocent III. (1199) relating to the property of the neighbouring church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, there is mention of "two tofts by the Perfect Pillar" (*duo casalina iuxta columnam perfectissimam*)[a] which may not improbably refer to this isolated column. The expression *casalina* probably implies that there had been some buildings on the ground, which had been removed.

The inscription of this monument is not comprised in the collection of inscriptions in the *Itinerary* of Einsiedeln, made apparently in the ninth century. Neither was it copied by the epigraphists of the early Renaissance. We may infer, that at the latter period it was almost, if not entirely, beneath the ground. There seems to be some evidence to show that the highest line was still visible in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The condition of the monument from that time to the present is illustrated by a succession of drawings and engravings. The well-known prints of Piranesi and Vasi show it as it stood in the last century, isolated, but with buildings near it, with the ground-level just at the base of the column.

The excavation begun in 1813, which revealed the inscription, was left unfinished for some time. In 1815–16, at the expense of the Duchess of Devonshire, the base of the monument was laid open.[b] The work was continued by the Pontifical Government, and in 1819 the excavated space was inclosed with a sustaining wall.

In 1834–5 the enclosure surrounding this column was united by a passage with that made in 1802–3 around the arch of Severus; and in 1851–2 it was thrown open on the south side in the new excavations by which the Basilica Julia was uncovered. Since that time the ancient area of the Forum has been gradually extended in all directions around the column.

The one thing that is really remarkable in the history of this monument, since the discovery of the pedestal and pyramid, is the facility with which archaeologists have accepted without a suggestion of doubt the hastily assumed inference respecting the date of its construction.

[a] See this bull in the English translation of the *Mirabilia*, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 181.

[b] I hear from M. Grueber, that there is a small medal of Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire, upon which the Column of Phocas is represented, with the inscription, COL. FOC. MONVMENTA. DETECTA.

XI.—*On an Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey, taken in* 1388. *By* J. Wickham Legg, *F.S.A., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London, Knight of the Imperial Order of the Rose.*

Read June 20, 1889.

All documents which bear upon the history of Westminster Abbey must have a considerable interest for Englishmen. A church in which so many of the English kings since the Conquest have been crowned and anointed will always be venerable in the eyes of the more thoughtful portion of our countrymen, just as Aken and Rhemes must be honoured by Germans and Frenchmen. But, unlike Rhemes, Westminster is not an episcopal church. It became cathedral only for a moment, after its suppression as a monastery, in the reign of Henry VIII. as Aken became cathedral for a few years at the beginning of this century, also a time of much confusion. When we cross the Alps we find again a like case in a church which is not episcopal but collegiate, the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, where the kings of Italy took the iron crown; and a still greater instance in the Vatican Basilica, only a collegiate church, where the golden crown of the world was bestowed upon the Roman emperor. There is a further likeness in the history of St. Peter's at Westminster and of St. Peter's across the Tiber. In both cases the bishop who bestowed the crown has left his seat close to his own metropolitan church and come to live hard by the church where he should crown and anoint his sovereign. The successor of St. Anselm, *papa alterius orbis*, has left Christchurch, Canterbury, for his manor of Lambeth; just as the pope has left his patriarchal church of St. John Lateran for his palace on the Vatican.

It will be exactly 501 years ago, the last day of June, that the inventory of

the *vestibulum* (a word which Ducange tells us means sacristy or vestry) in Westminster Abbey was made by Richard Cirencestre, William Sudbery, John Breynte, and Ralf Tonworthe. All of these were monks of Westminster, and we know, too, that three of them held office in the convent; Richard Cirencestre was first senior, John Breynte was kitchener, and Ralf Tonworthe was westerer in 1380.[a]

It is, indeed, nowhere explicitly stated in the manuscript that it is an inventory from the abbey church of Westminster; but if any should doubt the connexion of the book with Westminster, he should be satisfied by the circumstance just noticed; as well by the description of jewels and ornaments which we know were in the custody of the abbot and convent as by the frequent mention of the abbots, priors, and monks of Westminster. Further, there are directions on the second leaf of the manuscript for the vesting of the abbot of Westminster; in a handwriting, it is true, later than the body of the inventory; but the notes themselves afford conclusive proof that the manuscript was the handbook of the westerer or sacrist of the convent of Westminster.

The original document I have now the honour of showing to the Society; and a transcript accompanies this paper as one of its appendices. The manuscript now belongs to the library of the dean and chapter of Canterbury (Y.ax.), to whose courtesy I am indebted for the loan of the book. Dr. Brigstocke Sheppard has likewise helped on in every way the editing of the document. As to the book itself, he tells me that it has no history; but that a book belonging to another Benedictine monastery stands near this inventory on its shelf at Canterbury, and contains a note which states that Dr. Farmer, a canon of Canterbury in the eighteenth century, bought it on a book-stall in London. Something of the same sort, Dr. Sheppard conjectures, may have happened with the Westminster inventory. It is at present bound in brown calf, and marked on the back with a label, A. 10. The leaves are 13 by $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches (330 × 220 mm.) and they are 43 in number. The last has been cut vertically, leaving a little over the half. The first 20 leaves have been more or less injured, very likely by water.

In transcribing the manuscript, the contractions have been expanded where the intention of the scribe was almost certain, and some pains have been taken to follow the spelling; where it has not been possible to understand the meaning

[a] See Flete's manuscript in the chapter library, fol. 18, and Sporley's manuscript in the British Museum, Cotton, Claud. A. viii. fol. 28 verso. Dart reproduces these. (*Westmonasterium*, London, 1725, vol. i. book ii. chap. iv. p. 48.) As to William Sudbery, see Dart also. (Vol. ii. p. xxviii. "*William Sudbury*, Monk of *Westminster*, who wrote of the Properties of the Saints.")

of the word, as written, it has simply been copied with *sic* after it. The numbers have in many cases been rendered in Roman numerals, and not given at length, even when so given in the MS., for in this matter no attempt has been made to reproduce the exact form. Further, the words underlined and erased have been indicated.

On the verso of the first leaf is written in large black letters: **Registrum vestibuli in | thesauria perpetuo conservan | dum,** and on the same line with the last syllable is written in a sixteenth century hand: Roberte Applegate. And then below comes the paragraph beginning "the xij day," and the two Latin verses, also in sixteenth century hand:

Poto, magna cremo, de vite superflua demo,
Tempus do gratis, mihi flos servit mihi pratis.

On the recto of the second leaf at the top of the page is written:

Adam primus homo damnavit cætera pomo.

and on the verso of the second leaf are the rules for the vesting of the abbot of Westminster at evensong and high mass, written in a late fifteenth century hand.

Then follow five blank leaves; at the top of the seventh blank leaf is written twice over: William Lovelace, in a sixteenth century hand. The writing of the inventory begins on the recto of the eighth leaf. It is divided into two columns, the writing rarely taking up the whole of the column, great spaces being left after the entries for the insertion of new gifts or acquisitions in other ways. For example, the thirty-second and thirty-third leaves are left blank, except for the heading *sexta pars*, whereby is given space for the record of the increase of the simpler sets of vestments which are described in *capitulum x.*; and large spaces are also left in *quinta pars* after *capitula ij. iv. vj.* In every case some space is left; in the smallest intervals there are five lines, except after the albs of St. Dunstan, where only one is left. All the two columns of the leaves have been prepared for 41 lines, but in few have all the lines been written upon.

Nearly every *capitulum* ends with the words "Et in incremento de novo." In the greater number these words seem to have been written by the same hand that wrote the body of the inventory, but with a somewhat fainter ink, and perhaps a different pen. The increase is recorded sometimes by the same hand, at other times by a later hand. In printing this addition it has been included within brackets.

The writing is very clear, in black, blue, and red, with ornamented capitals,

which call for no special remark. Some of the headings to each *pars* are purple; and the blue writing is almost limited to the alternate signs of paragraphs in each *capitulum*. The blue letters of the first twenty leaves have been nearly obliterated.

From the likeness of the hands, it is very possible that the same scribe wrote the magnificent mass-book given by Nicholas Litlyngton to the convent, and still preserved in the chapter library.

The inventory is divided into seven parts: and these parts are again divided into chapters. The first part contains the ornaments which were worn by the abbot of Westminster: the mitres, the croziers, the gloves, the rings, the grey almuces, the rochets, the surplices, the pairs of dalmatics, and the sandals. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope points out to me a corresponding list of pontifical ornaments given by William Boys, who was abbot of Evesham from 1345 to 1367: "Ditavit ecclesiam istam ornamentis pontificalibus, videlicet una bona mitra cum baculo pastorali, annulis, chirothecis, almicio de grisio, cum uno rocheto, cum tunica et dalmatica, cum sandaliis et uno libro pontificali."[a]

Of mitres there were eight, not including the one for the boy-bishop. The first, given by Simon Langham, a former abbot, was adorned with jewels and pearls; it had also in front seven golden monials (*monilia*), in which were inserted many precious stones; there were the same number of monials behind. This mitre had also borders of silver gilt, having at the top of each a sapphire; the strings (the *labellae*) were also adorned with pearls and stones, and eight silver-gilt bells. The second was also the gift of Simon Langham, and was hardly less precious. The ninth, the mitre of the *parvus pontifex*, for St. Nicholas, was adorned with gold and silver plates and precious stones, of the gift of Ralf Tonworthe, the westerer.

When the colour of the stuff which formed the foundation of these mitres is spoken of, it is white. This is still the colour of the mitre of William of Wykeham, so carefully preserved at New College, Oxford, and the same colour is reported by M. Charles de Linas of the mitres of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Sens, and of St. Edmund.[b] The sixth mitre is said to have been of bawdekyn. Whether as early as this bawdekyn connoted red, as Dr. Rock suggests that later on it does,[c] I should doubt: for in the inventory we find a frontal of tawny

[a] *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, Rolls Series, 1863, p. 296.

[b] Charles de Linas, *Rapport sur les anciens vêtements sacerdotaux*, Paris, 1857, pp. 8 and 23.

[c] See Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, London, 1870, Introduction, p. lvii. "Plain crimson silken webs from Bagdad won for themselves the name of baudekins."

bawdekyn for Lent (pars iij. ca. j. § 15), a cope of white bawdekyn (p. vi. ca. xiij.), eight cushions of blue bawdekyn (p. vij., ca. ij.), and bawdekyn of divers colours. (*Minus Registrum*, ca. x.)

Of *baculi pastorales*, or croziers, there were four: the first, given by Nicholas Litlyngton, was of silver; and in the crook there was curious work of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and of images of St. John the Evangelist and king Edward, with an angel holding the cipher 𝔑. 𝔏. The second was given by Thomas Henley, also of silver, with the Salutation (Annunciation) of the Virgin in the crook.

Of gloves there were no less than nine pairs of silk. The first pair was given by Nicholas Litlyngton. Each glove was adorned with sixteen precious stones and a silver and enamelled monial (a plate on the back of the glove) with pearls and stones intermixed. Another rich pair, given by Simon Langham, was adorned with borders in silver and enamel with divers images, each glove having a monial in silver and enamel of the arms of St. Edward. These must have been quite equal to those spoken of by Dr. Bock, which belonged to St. Vitus' at Prague, and which he considers the finest described in medieval inventories.[a]

There were seven rings, of which the first is said (*dicitur*) to have belonged to St. Edward the Confessor, of blessed memory. It was of gold, and was adorned with one sapphire and eight red stones. It was in the custody of the abbot. This must be the marvellous ring[b] taken from the body of the saint in the first translation in 1163.

The other rings were adorned with sapphires, *lapides rubei*, and other stones. The last contained a large *sapphirus citrinus*. Yellow and apricot sapphires are catalogued in the Townshend Collection;[c] and I am told that pink, yellow, brown, and white sapphires are still imported from Ceylon.

The celebrated ruby ring given by Richard II. is not among the additions, nor can it be very well looked for, as it was one of the conditions of the gift that it should remain in the king's custody so long as he lived, unless he were out of England. (See Appendix III.) By right, then, the ring should not have gone with him to Ireland; yet in the troubles which filled up the end of his reign it

[a] Fr. Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder*, Bonn, 1866, Bd. ii., S. 141. The inventory was taken in 1387, only one year before this.

[b] *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, Rolls Series, 1858. Ed. H. R. Luard, pp. 16, 122, 172, 276, 373. The story is more shortly told in E. A. Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, chap. x. and chap. xi. Oxford, 1877, 3rd ed., vol. ii. p. 519, vol. iii. p. 34.

[c] A. H. Church, *Precious Stones*, London, 1883, p. 102.

seems in some way to have been lost to the shrine, as Henry V. is said to have restored the ring.[a] It was to be used in future coronations; and it may be noted that to this day the king of England receives a ruby ring at his coronation,[b] as "the Ensign of Kingly Dignity, and of Defence of the Catholic Faith."[c]

There were also four pairs of silk stockings (*sotulares*) and sandals; red, blue, black, and one pair of stockings of leather, adorned with diverse stones, but without sandals.

There were three grey almuces, one for the boy-bishop; five rochets, of which two were of the good cloth of Rennes, and one besides for the boy-bishop; four surplices of good cloth, and one for the boy-bishop. The pairs of dalmatics were seven; and were blue, white, green, black, and red in colour. They were the dalmatic and tunicle worn by the abbot when pontificating.

The second part contains the instruments for processions; the crosses, banners, censers, and their ships, the holy water vat and sprinkles, and candlesticks. There were seven crosses, and five handles for carrying the crosses. Most of these crosses had an image of the Crucified attached to them. One cross was of silver-gilt and highly adorned with precious stones; three others were of crystal, one of chalcedony, and another great cross was of wood, though adorned with beryls and one large red stone. In addition, there was a silver-gilt cross; and also there is counted amongst the crosses a vessel of beryl in which the Eucharist could be placed and carried, given by Thomas, duke of Gloucester; with two angels holding candlesticks in their hands.

There were sixteen banners; and amongst these there was one which had an image of a Roman emperor; and amongst the late additions, that is, after 1388, there was a banner of the Roman emperor given by Richard II.

There were altogether eight censers: two given by Henry III., one by Simon Langham, and one by Thomas, duke of Gloucester. Also three ships and spoons for incense; and two holy-water vats. There were twelve silver candlesticks, two large ones given by Henry III. and four by Simon Langham.

The third part contains the ornaments of the altar: the frontals and frontlets,

[a] Richard Widmore, *History of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, London, 1751, p. 113. The late Dean of Westminster reads this condition of the letters patent otherwise. "He had a ring, which he confided to St. Edward's Shrine when he was not out of England." (A. P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, chap. iii., London, 1869. Third ed. p. 149.) The letters patent must speak for themselves.

[b] Arthur Taylor, *Glory of Regality*, London, 1820, p. 76.

[c] William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, London, 1847, vol. iii. p. 116.

the linen cloths upon the altar, the ridells, costers, and other curtains, the chalices and corporas cases, the mass-books and other liturgical books and the text, the pax bredes, the basons, the cruets for the wine and water, the oil stocks, the pixes, pomes or balls for warming the hands, a fan for driving away flies from the chalice, super-altars, (that is, portable altar-stones) combs, towels, *sudaria*, (that is, silken veils for covering the elements as they were carried to the altar, or for wrapping up the paten during the canon) cushions, painted diptychs or triptychs, chairs of state with their coverings of precious stuffs, the Lenten veil to hang up between the choir and presbytery during Lent, and Lenten coverings for images.

For many of these ornaments a bare enumeration is sufficient; some of the fifteen frontals, however, were exceedingly rich. The green frontal is the first spoken of, and was worked with golden embroidery, showing kings and bishops sitting in tabernacles. The second was embroidered with gold, and showed the story of the Nativity, the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the life of St. Edward. It was, therefore, very likely *opus Anglicanum*. Was it, then, the frontal given by Henry III. about 1271, of which we are told that it took four women three years and three-quarters to make?[a]

There was also a green frontal for principal vigils, green being the Westminster colour for principal vigils;[b] a white one adorned with stars, possibly for Twelfth Day, or perhaps for Lent (pars vij. cap. vij. § 4); a blue one worked with golden archangels, probably for Michaelmas;[c] and one of a tawny coloured baudekin for Lent.

There were eleven frontlets, of which six were sewed to their frontals and five were sewed to the linen cloths of the altar. Of these linen cloths there were ten, five being of Paris or Norfolk work, the rest plain.

There were eight chalices, silver-gilt, and the same number of patens. The first chalice was a large one with two handles; it had two patens adorned with gold and stones, of which one was of beryl and the other of chalcedony, and it was furnished with two spoons of gold; these were given by Henry III.

[a] Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, Introd. p. xxxv. Rot. Cancel. 56 Hen. III. Compos. Will. de Glouc.

[b] Green is not often found as the liturgical colour for vigils. In a book of Franciscan origin (*Liber fam. cleric.* Venetiis, 1550, fo. 229) I find: Vigilia nativitatis domini: paramenta viridia: vel cancecoloris.

[c] Blue was also the colour for Michaelmas at Wells (Lambeth Palace Library, No. 729,) in the Crusaders' sequence at Jerusalem in 1100 (*Reliquary*, Oct. 1887, p. 194), and at Toul (*Missale ad usum Ecclesiae et Dioecesis Tullensis*, Tulli Leucorum, 1630. Rub. gen. de coloribus, par. xviii.)

It may be noticed that the patens were all engraved with some sacred image; a majesty, a vernicle, the crucified. Mr. St. John Hope has pointed out that this is the medieval rule. Out of eighty medieval patens, he found but two without some sacred device engraved in the centre.[a]

At the high altar there were two patens for making oblations.

There were ten corporas cases, all embroidered. There seem, however, to be no ornaments in the inventory that can be identified with a modern chalice veil. The nearest approach to a cloth that could be used for this purpose is the *sudarium*, with which the elements were covered when they were carried to the altar, and in which the paten was wrapped when held by the sub-deacon during the canon.

The fourth part is taken up with a description of the principal albs. It runs into no less than seventeen chapters, and the albs described are adorned with gold and divers colours, and the suit was either with or without corresponding stoles and fanons. In the last chapter the albs worn by St. Dunstan are enumerated.

St. Dunstan has also attributed to him, besides the albs, three black copes and two chasubles (pars vj. ca. xvij. § 16) two censers, and two bells. (*Minus Registrum*, cap. ij.) Besides these relics at Westminster it may be noted that in 1313 among the list of jewels belonging to Piers Gaveston there was a gold ring set with a sapphire, which St. Dunstan made with his own hands.[b] This can be traced back to the goods of Edward I.,[c] where it is recorded amongst other rings surrendered at the deaths of bishops and abbots. Other instances of the handiwork of St. Dunstan are known: bells at Abingdon;[d] crosses, censers, cruets, chasubles, and other vestments at Glastonbury, with bells, and a ring taken from his finger in the supposed translation from Canterbury.[e]

Speaking of albs, I think it is not the linen vestment itself that is described, but the silken apparels of the alb which were sewn on to this long white vest-

[a] W. H. St. John Hope, *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1887, vol. ii. part ii. p. 86.

[b] Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, Londoni, 1818, vol. ii. pars i. p. 204, "Un anel d'or, od un saphir; le quel seint Dunstan forga de ses mayns."

[c] *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatorum Garderobe anno regni R. Edw. I. xxviii.°*. The original MS. is in the Library of our Society. At p. 280 it has: "Unus anulus auri cum saphiro qui fuit de fabrica sancti Dunstani ut credebatur."

[d] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicum*, Lond. 1817. Vol. i., p. 516.

[e] Johann. Glaston, *Chronica*, ed. Thos. Hearne, Oxon. 1726, pp. 116, 131, and 145. Dr. Stubbs (*Memorials of St. Dunstan*, 1874. Rolls Series, Introduction, p. eiii.) speaks of "the bells that were known at Canterbury as his own work."

ment in accordance with the colour of the day; this opinion is strengthened by finding that there are two parts described, which would correspond to the fore and hinder apparel of the alb. Into the general discussion whether it be possible to have a silken alb I cannot now enter.

There were twenty principal albs of silk; the first had adornments of a yellow colour with bezants, of the same suit with the principal cope that came from the burial of St. Edward. Later on it will be seen that three copes were made of the cloths that were found on the body of the Confessor. There were eight other albs, golden, with stoles and fanons of the suit, and six without stoles and fanons. Of the red albs eighteen were with, and twenty-seven without stoles and fanons. Of black albs there were five with, and twenty-three without stoles and fanons. The first of the black albs, adorned with a majesty, popes, kings, and bishops on one side, and Blessed Mary, SS. Edward, John, Laurence, Katherine, and two other virgins on the other, must have been magnificent. Of murrey-coloured albs two were with, and one without stoles and fanons. Of white albs there were three with stoles and fanons; of blue, two with, and eight without stoles and fanons; of *glauceus*, (a yellow-green) nine without stoles and fanons; there were five green with, and five green without stoles and fanons. There were two albs of divers colours.

The albs of St. Dunstan, seven in number, were reckoned among the principal ones, not because they were embroidered, but because they were relics, having been worn by the saint in his lifetime.

The fifth part continues to deal with albs; but the albs described are simple, not embroidered; they are with or without stoles and fanons. This part is divided into eighteen chapters.

Of the cloth of gold albs there were thirteen red with stoles and fanons, and fifty-two without. Of blue there were three with, and ten without stoles and fanons. Of white, one with and sixteen without stoles and fanons. Of murrey albs, four with and seven without; there were also albs with shields on them, *albe scutate*, three with, and twelve without stoles and fanons. Of simple red albs there were six with, and twelve without stoles and fanons. Of green albs, seven with, and seven without, stoles and fanons. There were five white and thirteen black with, and seven murrey without, stoles and fanons.

There were twelve principal stoles; some of these had three fanons to two stoles, which implies that they belonged to a set.

At first sight it seems as if the albs with stoles and fanons should have been in sets; that is, that to every three albs there should have been three fanons and

two stoles. For example, the three albs embroidered with the arms of France and England had three fanons and two stoles, and the same may be noticed in many other cases. But this is not always true, for the number, 103, of the albs with stoles and fanons, does not allow of any such exact apportioning of the vestments, and it is often said that each alb had its own stole and fanon; or there are more albs in one set than would correspond to the number of the stoles and fanons.[a]

ALBS.

	With stoles and fanons.	Without stoles and fanons.	Stoles and fanons not spoken of.	Total.
Embroidered	—	—	20	20
Golden	8	6	—	14
Red	37	91	—	128
Black	18	23	—	41
Murrey	6	8	—	14
White	9	16	—	25
Blue	5	18	—	23
Glauceus	—	9	—	9
Green	12	12	—	24
Divers	2	—	—	2
Embroidered with arms of England and France	3	—	—	3
Embroidered with arms	3	12	—	15
Albs of St. Dunstan	—	7	—	7
	103	202	20	325

The preponderance of red among the vestments will be noticed below.

The sixth part is an enumeration of the principal and simple copes, chasubles, and tunicles, which are arranged according to their colour and quality in seventeen chapters. Under the copes of divers colours are given the three copes from the burial of St. Edward, and there is evidence to show that this means that the copes were made of the stuffs in which his body was wrapped; one was *glauceus*, the

[a] See pars v. cap. j.

second red, and the third powdered with eagles. The two best copes in this chapter appear to have been black in colour.

An examination of *Pars Sexta*, in which the copes, chasubles, and tunicles are enumerated, leads to the results which are given in the adjoining table.

	Copes.	Chasubles.	Tunicles.
Golden - - - - -	6	—	—
Black - - - - -	11	6	6
Murrey - - - - -	24	10	8
Blue - - - - -	69	8	10
Glauceus - - - -	10	1	2
Red - - - - -	127	16	33
White - - - - -	53	6	10
Tawney - - - -	—	—	2
Divers and rayed - - -	7	3	9
	307	50	80

It will be noted that there is a great preponderance of red ornaments. In abbot Ware's *Consuetudinary*,[a] there are rules given for the use of the coloured ornaments; and, according to these rules, red would be worn for more than half the year; not less than thirty-three weeks. Red was ordered for the three weeks from Septuagesima to the first Sunday in Lent; for the last fortnight of Lent; for the five weeks from Easter to Ascension; and for the weeks from Pentecost to Advent, which may vary from twenty-three to twenty-eight. To these weeks we must add the feasts of martyrs, which were observed in Advent, Christmas, and Lent, and the great number of red vestments may be understood.

The seventh part contains things not spoken of under any of the foregoing: carpets, cushions, morses of copes, pieces of cloth of gold and of silk, and girdles; together with two new chests, and a list of the things in them. One of these carpets was called "the pass," and was long enough to go from the door of the

[a] British Museum, MS. Otho C. xi. f. 30 b. Most of these rules are printed in my *Notes on the History of the Liturgical Colours*. Lond. 1882.

vestry to the high altar. In the inventory of the Dissolution it is called "the Rollyd Palye otherwyse called the Passe servyng for the Abbott to go to the aulter apon."[a]

After this comes an alphabetical list or index of the ornaments catalogued, *contra tabula*, references being given to the part and chapter.

Last of all comes a *Minus Registrum*, divided into ten chapters, and containing the less precious ornaments left in the *vestibulum*. Amongst these are five mitres, two croziers, of which one had in the crook the Church on one side and the Synagogue on the other, an unusual device for a pastoral staff; five pairs of gloves, two rings, and one set of sandals. One of the more curious entries is a *capella portatilis*, given by Nicholas Litlyngton. It consisted of a case containing one chalice, two cruets, one pix, one bell, one pax brede of silver-gilt, one super-altar of alabaster, one reredos, one frontal and frontlet, two ridells, one alb with stole and fanon, a girdle and a chasuble, and a corporas case with a corporas, all of blue cloth of striped tartaryn of one suit; with two towels without the palls, (that is, the large linen cloths which covered the altar) and a small mass book.

Here we have an enumeration of what was held to be necessary for the celebration of low mass. Noteworthy is the absence of paten, candlesticks, and cross for the altar, of amice amongst the vestments, of chalice veil and purificator amongst the gear with the corporas. Noteworthy is the presence of the pax brede, reredos, frontal, and ridells, none of which are nowadays thought of much importance. In fact, in a modern low mass the pax has entirely disappeared. We may compare with this apparatus for a medieval low mass the vestments spoken of in Appendix II.; such as were given by a king for the celebration of high mass to one of the most important churches in his realm, almost at the same time that this inventory was made.

One of our Fellows, now deceased, Mr. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, has printed an inventory of the abbey taken at the time of the Dissolution. In the notes to the inventory now printed, Mr. Walcott's will be referred to as *Inventory 1540*, with the page of the fourth volume of the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* in which the inventory appears.[b] An attempt has been made in this paper to point out the ornaments common to both inventories, but

[a] Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 1875, vol. iv. p. 348.

[b] It may be well to add that Mr. Mackenzie Walcott has also printed some notes on this present inventory in the *Transactions* of the same society, 1881, vol. v. p. 424.

with less success than might have been looked for. In some cases there can be little doubt that the same ornament is described, while in others it is by no means so clear that they are the same, though there may be features common to both. Even the number of these last is not very great; in explanation, it may be noticed that Widmore tells us that in 1449, at the time of the great plague, the convent sold jewels and other goods of the church beyond the value of 300*l.* in the money of the time.[a]

As to the stuffs that the various vestments were made of, we find the usual medieval silks and cloths of gold of many colours, into the nature of which there is no need to enter when so many students possess Dr. Daniel Rock's *Textile Fabrics*, and Fischbach's *Ornamente der Gewebe*, which has appeared in an English edition, both of which may be supplemented here and there by Mr. S. William Beck's *Drapers' Dictionary*. Cloth of gold is very frequently spoken of; of the silken or other costly stuffs, samyt appears 47 times; velvet 22; dyaspin 15; bawdekyn 11; tartaryn 7; satyn 6; damask 5; camaca 5; cypres 4; cloth of Lucca and sarcinet 3; sandell twice. The simpler ornaments of silk and samyt have one chapter given up to them. (pars vj. cap. xvij.)

Syndon is spoken of twice in the *Minus Registrum;* four cushions of green syndon (cap. viij.) and four veils, two of which were for covering images at the shrine during Lent. (cap. x.) Syndon is naturally held to be some sort of linen, yet Dr. Rock considers it to be "a bettermost sort of cendal".[b]

Twyne is spoken of as a material for girdles. Fustian and cloth of Reynes are also mentioned once, the former as a material for mitres, (*Minus Registrum*, cap. i.) the latter for rochets.

Opus Romanum is once spoken of. (pars iij. cap. ij. § 2.) *Opus Parisiense* twice (pars iij. capp. iij. and xviij.) in both cases for the adornment of linen. It is marked at Hulne Priory about 1354 as "pannus bonus operis parisiensis cum scutis dominorum pro frontello altaris, laneus tamen";[c] and at St. Paul's, in 1402, there were "vj paria pallarum benedictarum de panno lineo, quarum duo paria sunt de opere Parisiensi".[d] Pieces of "naperie du Paris" are spoken of among the goods of Henry V.[e] *Opus indentatum* is spoken of three times, once (pars iij. cap. j. § 8) as part of a white frontal "auro intextum de panno damasci

[a] Widmore, *op. cit.* p. 134.

[b] Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, Introduction, p. xli.

[c] British Museum, Harl. MS. 3897, fol. 58.

[d] *Archaeologia*, 1887, vol. l. p. 509.

[e] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iv. p. 237.

indentatum;" again (pars iv. cap. iij. § 5, pars v. cap. vj.) as parts of albs. In the inventory of 1540 it appears in a set "of tyssewe endentyd as chewerne work haveyng in the cheverns crymsyn and golden fflowrys of Kyng Richard the ij^{des} gyfte" (p. 328).

In passing to the names of the various donors and benefactors of the convent, it may be said that in this place I have mentioned only those names that occur more than once. If they make but a single appearance in the inventory, I have told what I know of them in a note. Of names like William the Conqueror it was not necessary to speak; and others are so obscure that I have been able to find nothing about them. I have drawn most of what I have said of the officers of the convent from Dart and Widmore.

Nicholas Litlyngton, abbot from 1362 to 1386, is well known as a most generous benefactor to Westminster Abbey: in this inventory he is mentioned twenty-nine times as the giver of jewels and ornaments to the church; while Simon Langham, who is second on the list of donors, is spoken of twenty times. The pontifical ornaments for the abbot seem to have been Nicholas Litlyngton's great care; a crozier, a pair of gloves and of buskins, a grey almuce, several rochets and surplices were given by him, nearly all of great value. Dart also tells as that he gave a mitre of white pearls, which cost him a hundred marks.[a] A magnificent black frontal with the arms of England, apparently designed for the obits of the kings, two enamelled chalices, and the splendid mass-book which is still preserved by the church of Westminster, are all due to him. It will be seen that he gave a frontal with the arms of England; and thus it may be well to note once for all, that the arms displayed upon an ornament are not always those of the donor.

Simon Langham, who was monk in 1335; prior and abbot in 1349; bishop of Ely, 1361; archbishop of Canterbury, 1366; cardinal priest of St. Sextus, 1368; cardinal bishop of Palestrina, 1372, and who died in 1376, was also a great benefactor. He left by will to the abbey the residue of his goods,[b] and of these there still exists an inventory in the muniment room at Westminster (Parcel 40, Nos. 7 and 8). I have looked over these documents, but could not in a hasty examination identify the ornaments with any sufficient certainty.

Langham is named twenty times in the inventory of the vestry. He gave two magnificent mitres and a pair of gloves highly adorned with enamels and

[a] Dart, *op. cit.* Book I, p. 31, in a list of gifts made to his church of Westminster.

[b] Widmore, *op. cit.* Appendix, p. 188.

images, five pairs of pontifical dalmatics, a censer and incense ship, and four silver candlesticks. There can be little doubt that he gave the whole of the set that is described as rayed cloth of gold of Lucca, of divers colours and with divers letters written thereon, of which we have under his name the frontal and frontlet (pars iij. ca. j. § 9) and the ridells (pars iij. ca. v. § 1), though the albs (pars v. ca. j.) and four copes, with a chasuble and tunicles (pars vj. ca. x. § 5) are not ascribed to his gift. There are ornaments corresponding on fol. 2. b of No. 7 of the inventory of Simon Langham's goods. Widmore tells us that he also gave to the abbey the vestments reported to be used by St. Peter;[a] used, was it, when this saint hallowed the abbey?

Ralf. Tonworthe was the westerer at the time of the making of this inventory. He seems to have had a special care for the boy-bishop, for a good number of the ornaments for St. Nicholas are of Tonworthe's gift. To him are owing the mitre, gloves, surplice, and rochet for the boy-bishop. There were besides, for St. Nicholas, though it is not said they were of Tonworthe's gift, two albs and a cope, with griffins and other beasts, with fountains giving forth water (pars v. ca. iv. § 2; pars vi. ca. xiv. § 43); a velvet cope of divers colours, with the new arms of England (pars vj. ca. viiij.), a second mitre, and a ring. (*Minus Registrum*, ca. j.)

Tonworthe also gave two chests containing, amongst other things, complete sets of white vestments for the Sundays in Advent and Lent. *Capitulum rij.* of *pars rij.* is taken up with a description of these gifts. He gave as well seventeen carpets of elaborate design for the adornment of the choir, apparently on great festivals. (pars vij. cap. j.)

Henry III., besides a censer and two great candlesticks, gave to the church a large chalice with two handles together with two patens (*disci*) and spoons. Further, he gave one psalter with the apocalypse at the end, which remained with the church till the Dissolution: and as many as twenty-nine copes of red samite.

Dart says that, in the thirtieth year of his reign, he commanded the keeper of his exchequer to buy as precious a mitre as could be found in the city of London; and also a circle of silver for wax candles. Two years before he had given a dragon in the manner of a standard or ensign.[b] None of these can be identified with certainty in the inventory, and to the last there appears to be nothing which corresponds.

[a] Widmore, *op. cit.* p. 93. Cf. Inventory 1540, p. 313, "Seynte Peter's Cope."

[b] Dart, *op. cit.* Book I, chap. iii. p. 26.

Eleanor of Castile, the queen of Edward I., is spoken of three times in the inventory (pars v. ca. xiij.; pars vij. ca. v. § 3. *Minus Registrum*, ca. vij.) in connexion with a suit of green vestments, marked with the arms of England and Spain; but she does not seem to have given these ornaments. They were "assigned" for her; probably therefore worn at her obit, for which manors of the yearly value of two hundred pounds were given to the convent by Edward I.[a]

The arms of Castile and France appear in another part of the inventory, (pars vj. ca. iij. § 4) and in other parts (pars vj. ca. ij. § 10 and § 18) the arms of England are associated with those of Castile. If needful to connect them with any one, it would seem more reasonable to associate them with queen Eleanor than with John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who styled himself king of Castile and Leon in right of his second wife, Constance, the elder daughter of Pedro the Cruel.

Edmund of Lancaster, brother of Edward I., appears as the giver of a blue frontal (pars iij. ca. j. § 14) and a set of blue vestments (pars vj. ca. x. § 13) all embroidered with archangels, very possibly for use on Michaelmas Day. The arms of the earl of Lancaster were on two cushions given by Nicholas Litlyngton (pars iij. ca. xx. § 2), and on an alb with the arms of SS. Edward and Edmund on one side, and of England, France, and the earl of Warwick on the other (pars iv. ca. j. § 5).

Edward III. is recorded to have given a white frontal (pars. iij. ca. j. § 13) and a suit of white vestments (pars. vj. ca. xvij. § 9). He also gave six carpets (pars vij. cap. j. § 1) with the new arms of England[b] and the arms of Hainault, those of his wife Philippa; and a frontal was made of the red and blue velvet, with the arms of England and France, that was used at his funeral (pars iij. ca. j. § 10); and ridells of the white satin used at the funeral of queen Philippa (p. iij. ca. v. § 2).

Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, was also a considerable benefactor. A very large and handsome jewel of beryl made for holding the Eucharist, and two angels bearing candlesticks in their hands (pars ij. ca. j. *in incremento de novo*) were given by him. Less important gifts were a censer, two lavatory dishes, and a suit of vestments marked with the initials of himself and his wife, T. & A., and the Bohun swans (pars vj. ca. x. *in incremento de novo*). In Appendix IV. there is a complete list of the ornaments given by Thomas and his wife to the abbey.

[a] Widmore, *op. cit.* p. 78.

[b] *i. e.* France ancient and England quarterly.

Mary de St. Paul, countess of Pembroke, was the wife of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke. She was the foundress of Pembroke college, Cambridge. She gave to the convent three albs, two stoles, and three fanons of cloth of gold, two copes, a chasuble, and two tunicles of diverse colours, but all of the same suit and worked with the arms of France and England; the larger vestments also with her own arms. (pars v. cap. viij.; pars vj. cap. x.) Further, four carpets and two cushions with the arms of the earl of Pembroke. (pars vij. capp. j. and ij.)

John of Grandison, who gave a frontal and frontlet, the former adorned with the arms of England and France, the latter *ex opere romano*, (pars iij. capp. j. and ij.) was bishop of Exeter from 1328 to 1369.

Richard Berkynge was abbot from 1222 to 1246. He gave three red and two green copes to the convent. (pars vj. capp. iij. and v.)[a] These two last were given in 1238. Flete further says, that he left two curtains with the history of Our Lord and St. Edward; but I cannot identify these in the inventory.

John Wratting was prior in 1382; he gave five white copes to the convent, three embroidered and two simple. (pars vj. capp. xij. and xiij.) He is also said to have in his custody one of the chalices. (pars iij. cap. vj.)

The phonetic spelling of some of the Latin words in the inventory may throw some light upon the way in which one or two of the consonants were pronounced. For example, the letter "c" before either "e" or "i" must have been pronounced like an "s"; we find *cerico* instead of *serico*, *signis* instead of *cygnis*, *pissem* instead of *piscem*. The "ch" which is so often hard has been softened; we have *chirotheca* altered into *seroteca*. The "c" could not therefore have been pronounced as in the Latin of the modern Italian, Spaniard, or German. The "j" too must have had something of its present English pronunciation. We have *magestatem*, spelt with a "g"; so that it could hardly have been pronounced *maiestatem* as the Italians and Germans speak it. In like manner the "t" before an "i" was softened; we have *eciam*, *tercia*, *circumferencia*, *oblacio*, etc., throughout the manuscript.

Thus the evidence, as far as it goes, is that the "c," "j," and "t" were pronounced in Latin by Englishmen at the end of the fourteenth century very much as they were in English schools some forty years ago. But on the other hand, the "w" often takes the place of the "v," as in *Ewangelista*; so the "w" and "v" would seem to have had in England much the same sound; as they have on the Continent at this moment.

[a] See note to this entry in the Inventory.

Before leaving the Latin of the monks of Westminster it may be noted that they seem to have had their own views as to the comparison of adjectives. Thus the scribe writes down for our better knowledge the statement that certain gloves "veterissime sunt et parvissime valoris." (*Minus Registrum*, ca. j.)

To the Dean and Chapter of Westminster I am greatly indebted for their courtesy in allowing me the use of their transcript of the Consuetudinary of abbot Ware, one of the Cotton MSS. (Otho, c. xi.) now in the British Museum. I have spoken of this manuscript in the notes to the inventory as *Consuetudinary*, followed by the number of the leaf of the original MS. for convenience of reference. To the Dean I am very grateful for the ready permission given to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope and myself to see the documents in the muniment room, of which we have availed ourselves to make the transcripts which appear as Appendices II. III. and IV. to this paper.

I cannot end the paper without expressing my gratitude to Mr. St. John Hope for all that he has done from the very first day on which I began to think of undertaking the work. It was, in fact, he who first suggested it; and I am confident that without his skill and encouragement I should never have begun, and still less continued and brought to an end, the transcription of the manuscript. Whenever I have been at fault he has enlightened me, and when out of heart it was he who gave me fresh courage to go on.

APPENDIX I.

Registrum vestibuli[a] in thesauria perpetuo conservandum.[b]

The xij day ys s'vayd wyth ev'y thỹg at hy masse ãd p'cessyon as pryncypaꝉ fest. Itm̃ y[e] blew tyssu s'veth for the fest of seynt Edward at myhelmas.[c] And the Jessys[d] serve for the oder fest of seỹnt Edward at crystmas. Itm̃ the blew myꝉys[e] do s've for boyth the vygyꝉꝛ of seynt Edward synglarly.

Poto, magna cremo, de vite superflua demo.
Tempus do gratis, mihi flos servit mihi pratis.

Adam primus homo damnavit caetera pomo

ihc

The Revestyng of the abbot of Westm̃ att evensong.

ffyrste the westerer shall lay the abbotꝛ cope lowest opon the awter w'in the sayd westre. nex opon hys gray Ames. then hys surples. after that hys Rochett and uppermost hys Kerchure.[f]

[a] Vestibulum: Vestiarium, sacristia. See Ducange. It is at the end of the south transept.

[b] Here follows in handwriting of sixteenth century: "Roberte Applegate."

[c] Tissue was a cloth of gold. A blue cloth of gold was for St. Edward's Day at Michaelmas (Oct. 13). See also the Inventory of 1540, p. 333, where "iiij Copes of Turkey satten" are assigned to this day; but the colour is not given; amongst the curtains there is "a nother payr of grene sarsenet for Seynt Edwards dayes." (p. 342) And (p. 331) amongst the vestments, a set "straked with yellowe and red . . . for seynt Edwards consuets;" and another set "withoute stoll and phanam of blew satten with half monys and starys servyng for the Utas of Seynt Edward."

[d] See pars v. cap. iij. below.

Cf. the Inventory of 1540, p. 313, "the other calledde the cope with the aungelles of perle and the iij other callede the Jessys with ij tunycles:" and, p. 333, "a Cope of blewe velvett rychely embrotherd with a Jesse the ymages of the Jesse beyng garnysshed with perle." A lesson from cap. iii. of St. Luke recounting the tree of Jesse, was read in many rites at the mattins of Twelfth Day, of which St. Edward's Day at Christmas is the eve. There is an engraving of a Jesse frontal in Bock, *Geschichte der liturg. Gewänder*, Bd. III., Tafel i. Fig. 2. Amongst the chasubles at St. Paul's London in 1245, there was: "Jesse quam dedit Rex in dedicatione ecclesiae" (*Archaeologia*, 1887, vol. l. p. 484) and a red cope, *bene breudata Jesse* (p. 476). Among the red vestments at York, soon after 1500, there was: una secta de historia Jesse [et aquilis, sine albis] (*York Fabric Rolls*, Surtees Society, 1859, p. 233). See below, pars vj. cap. j.

[e] Probably a blue stuff powdered with mills. In the Inventory of 1540 (p. 329) two sets of vestments, one of blue velvet the other of green, were embrodered with antelopes and "mylles," in one case of gold.

[f] The kerchure is clearly the *amictus*. It is to be worn with the rochet and surplice.

Hys Myter & crose[a] beyng Redy w^t^ hys glovys and pontyfycalle.[b]

The Revestyng of the sayd abbot att syngyng hy Masse.

Fyrst the westerer shall lay lowest the chesebell. a bove that the dalmatyke and the dalmatyk w^t^ ye longest slevys uppermost & the other nethermost[c] then hys stole & hys fanane and hys gyrdyll. opon that his albe theropon hys gray Ames a bove that hys Rochett & uppermost hys kerchur w^t^ a vestry gyrdyll to tukk up hys cole.[d]

Hys Miter & crose beyng Redy w^t^ hys glovys and pontyfycalle And a fore all thys you muste se that hys sabatyns[e] & syndalle be Redy att hys first cuyng whan he settyth hym downe in the travys.

[a] The "crose" is here the pastoral staff. None of the tombs of the abbots of Westminster shows a pectoral cross hanging round the neck; and among the ornaments particular to the abbot described at length in the first part of the inventory there is no pectoral cross. It is not in the list of pontifical ornaments given by William Boys, who was abbot of Evesham from 1345 to 1367, to his church, (*Chron. Abb. de Evesham*, Rolls Series, 1863, p. 296) nor among the ornaments of the abbot enumerated in the Custom Book of St. Mary's abbey, York, belonging to St. John's College, Cambridge, D. 27, which Dan Francis Gasquet had the kindness to point out to me. See also *Promptuarium Parvulorum*, sub voce *Croce of a byschope*. Andreas du Saussay speaks warmly against the assumption of a pectoral cross by abbots. "Contra ius omne igitur agunt abbates, quicumque hoc insigne sacri pectoralis sibi arrogant utendum." (*Panoplia Episcopalis*, Lib. iv. Lut. Paris. 1646, p. 328.) There is evidence that the episcopal pectoral cross was little known during the middle ages. (See Bona, *de rebus lit.* Lib. i. cap. xxiv. § x. ed. Sala.)

[b] The pontifical rings. In the list of pontifical ornaments at Evesham (see above) the rings are spoken of in the plural: "una bona mitra cum baculo pastorali, annulis," etc., and on effigies there are often more than one. At the burial of Thomas Savage, archbishop of York, xvjd. were paid "for a pontificall put upon my lorde's fynger in tym of sering." (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, Surtees Society, 1868, vol. iv. p. 319.) See also the entry in Henry VIII.'s Jewel Book: "Item one ringe of golde called a pontificall having an egle standing, in his breste a small rubie poiz j quarter dj oz. Item fouer ringes of silver called pontificalles," (MS. cxxix. in the Library of our Society, fo. 144 b.)

[c] The only difference between dalmatic and tunicle here allowed is that the former has shorter sleeves than the latter. In the inventory itself tunicle is throughout used for the ornament of either epistler or gospeller. See also below, pars vj. cap. xvij. § 5.

[d] "tukk up hys cole," (cowl), that is, so to arrange the habit that it did not show. The rubrics of several orders speak of this necessary adjusting of the dress: "Vestes communes sub ecclesiasticis ita aptandae sunt, ne gibbus aliquis appareat in humeris Canonicorum." (*Calendarium Regula et Ordinarium Regularium Congreg. S. Salvatoris O. S. Aug.* Romae, Ant. Blad. 1549.) Nearly the same words are in the general rubrics of the mass-book of the Black-friars, (*Missale Predicatorum*, Venetiis, L. A. de Giunta, 1504) and of the White-friars, (*Missale antique professionis Regularium beatissime Dei genitricis semperque virginis Marie de Monte Carmelo*, Venetiis, apud Iuntas, 1574).

[e] Evidently some kind of foot gear, most likely the stocking; the word is cognate to the French *sabot*. There were two pairs of "sabbatones" in archbishop Bowet's Inventory. (*Testam. Ebor.* Surtees Soc. vol. iii. p. 76).

Also m̄ that euery sonday betwene cristmasse and candellmasse w^t^ (*sic*) they sey of the dom̄ they shall be Revestyd all in whyte and preface shall be Quia p incarnati.[a] teste x ⊙

[Here follow five blank leaves.]

Et si cuilibet homini pro tempore vite huius ex defectu nature competat laborare teste scriptura. Job quinto. sicut avis ad volatum sic homo nascitur ad laborem.[b] Specialiter tamen opus grandis laboris arcipere (*sic*) et extra portum quietis diutius navigare frequenter hominem duo monent[c] scilicet Cautela de pretentis qua retro acta discrimina evitantur et providentia de futuris qua proventura comoda suscitantur. Quia igitur experiencia nos informat quod multa incomoda huic monasterio acciderunt eo quod res vestibulo contingentes non fuerant sufficienter hactenus registrate. De isto plus solicitos ac eciam magis cautos reddit periculum memoratum. Quia eciam patres filijs thesaurizant et bona posterioribus a prioribus relinquuntur. registrum competens disponente domino intendimus ordinare. In quo singula nunc possessa que predicto competunt vestibulo possent facillime reperiri. et singula in posterum eidem competitura vestibulo poterint iuxta naturam suorum titulorum inseri et inscribi. ut sic de rebus ecclesie predicto vestibulo conservatis tam presentibus monachis quam futuris speculum reluceat intuendum et perpetua memoria relinquitur. Set (*sic*) ut predictum registrum cuilibet requirenti. facilius ac cicius possit occurrere quicquid velit huic registro duximus prenotandum. quod dictum registrum in septem partes dividitur principales. et quelibet pars in aliquot capitula est distincta. in quibus singule res iuxta suos titulos et earum congruenciam situantur ut per quandam contra tabulam in fine huius registri positam manifestissime annotatur.

[a] According to abbot Ware's *Consuetudinary* (British Museum, Otho, c. xi. f. 30 b.) the colour for the vestments at Westminster was to be white from Advent to Candlemas, a rule which corresponds with the direction above. The preface, *Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium*, according to Westminster use, in abbot Nicholas Litlyngton's book, preserved in the Chapter library, corresponds word for word with that in the old Sarum and modern Roman mass-books.

[b] "Homo nascitur ad laborem et avis ad volatum". Job, v. 7.

[c] Or *movent*.

TABULA.

¶ *Prima Pars.*

Prima pars principalis de ornamentis tantum domino Abbati deputatis.

De mitris	*Capitulum j.*
De Baculis Pastoralibus	*Capitulum ij.*
De Serotecis	*Capitulum iij.*
De Anulis	*Capitulum iiij.*
De Almucijs	*Capitulum v.*
De Rochetis	*Capitulum vj.*
De Superpellicijs	*Capitutum vij.*
De Dalmaticis diversorum colorum tantummodo domino abbati deputatis	*Capitulum viij.*
De sandalibus et sotularibus	*Capitulum ix.*

¶ *Secunda Pars.*

Secunda pars principalis de instrumentis processionum.

De Crucibus et Hastilibus	*Capitulum j.*
De Vexillis et Tintinabulis	*Capitulum ij.*
De Turribulis	*Capitulum iij.*
De Acerris	*Capitulum iiij.*
De Situlis et Aspersorijs	*Capitulum v.*
De Candelabris	*Capitulum vj.*

¶ *Tercia Pars.*

Tercia pars principalis de ornamentis altaris.

De Frontellis	*Capitulum j.*
De Frontilectis	*Capitulum ij.*
De Pallis altaris	*Capitulum iij.*
De Custodibus	*Capitulum iiij.*
De Ridellis	*Capitulum v.*
De Calicibus	*Capitulum vj.*
De Corporalibus	*Capitulum vij.*
De Missalibus et alijs libris	*Capitulum viij.*
De Textibus	*Capitulum ix.*
De Tabulis Osculatorijs	*Capitulum x.*

De Pelvibus	*Capitulum xj.*
De Ursiolis et Ampullis	*Capitulum xij.*
De Pixidibus	*Capitulum xiij.*
De Calefactorijs	*Capitulum xiiij.*
De Muscarijs	*Capitulum xv.*
De Superaltaribus	*Capitulum xvj.*
De Pectinibus	*Capitulum xvij.*
De Manutergijs	*Capitulum xviij.*
De Sudarijs	*Capitulum xix.*
De Cervicalibus	*Capitulum xx.*
De Tabulis plicabilibus	*Capitulum xxj.*
De Cathedris et pannis cathedralibus	*Capitulum xxij.*
De velo et pannis quadragesimalibus	*Capitulum xxiij.*

¶ *Quarta Pars.*

Quarta pars principalis de Albis principalibus aureis et de diversis coloribus cum et sine Stolis et manipulis una cum albis Sancti Dunstani.

De Albis principalibus de serico cum paruris brudatis *Capitulum j.*

De Albis principalibus aureis auro contextis brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum ij.*

De Albis principalibus aureis auro contextis brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum iij.*

De Albis Rubijs principalibus cum stolis et manipulis brudatis *Capitulum iiij.*

De Albis principalibus rubijs sine stolis et manipulis brudatis *Capitulum v.*

De Albis nigris principalibus brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum vj.*

De Albis nigris principalibus brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum vij.*

De Albis principalibus murrei coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum viij.*

De Albis principalibus murrei coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum ix.*

De Albis principalibus albi coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum x.*

De Albis principalibus blodij coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xj.*

De Albis principalibus blodij coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xij.*

De Albis principalibus glaucei coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xiij.*

De Albis principalibus viridis coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xiiij.*

De Albis principalibus viridis coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xv.*

De Albis principalibus diversorum colorum brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xvj.*

De Albis principalibus Sancti Dunstani non brudatis *Capitulum xvij.*

¶ *Quinta Pars.*

Quinta pars principalis de Albis simplicioribus de diversis coloribus cum et sine stolis et manipulis.

De Albis rubijs de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum j.*

De Albis rubijs de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum ij.*

De Albis blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum iij.*

De Albis blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum iiij.*

De Albis albi coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum v.*

De Albis albi coloris de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum vj.*

De Albis murrei coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum vij.*

De Albis de armis Anglie et Francie de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum viij.*

De Albis scutatis auro non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capituluu ix.*

De Albis scutatis auro non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum x.*

De Albis rubijs auro non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xj.*

De Albis rubijs auro non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xij.*

De Albis viridis coloris non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xiij.*

De Albis viridis coloris non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xiiij.*

De Albis . . . . Albi Coloris non brudatis cum Stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xv.*

De Albis murrei coloris non brudatis sine Stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xvj.*
De Albis nigri coloris non brudatis cum Stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xvij.*
De Stolis et manipulis principalibus diversorum colorum *Capitulum xviij.*

¶ *Sexta Pars.*

Sexta pars principalis de capis casulis et Tunicis diversorum colorum principalibus et simplicioribus auro brudatis et auro non brudatis.

De Capis principalibus Aureis brudatis sine Casulis et tunicis *Capitulum j.*
De Capis casulis et tunicis principalibus brudatis diversorum colorum de sectis *Capitulum ij.*
De Capis rubijs principalibus auro brudatis *Capitulum iij.*
De Capis principalibus blodij coloris auro brudatis *Capitulum iiij.*
De capis principalibus viridis coloris auro brudatis *Capitulum v.*
De Capis principalibus quasi murrei coloris auro brudatis *Capitulum vj.*
De Capis principalibus Glaucei coloris auro brudatis *Capitulum vij.*
De capis principalibus diversorum colorum auro brudatis *Capitulum viij.*
De capis nigris principalibus auro brudatis [*Capitulum*] *ix.*
De capis Casulis et tunicis simplicioribus diversorum colorum de panno aureo non brudatis de sectis *Capitulum x.*
De Capis rubijs simplicioribus de panno aureo non brudatis *Capitulum xj.*
De Capis simplicioribus albi coloris de panno auro non brudatis *Capitulum xij.*
De Capis simplicioribus albi coloris de velvet non brudatis *Capitulum xiij.*
De capis simplicioribus blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis *Capitulum xiiij.*
De capis simplicioribus nigri coloris de panno aureo non brudatis *Capitulum xv.*
De Capis casulis et tunicis simplicioribus diversorum colorum de dyaspyns *Capitulum xvj.*
De Capis casulis et tunicis simplicioribus diversorum colorum de serico et de Samyt sine aliquo opere aureo *Capitulum xvij.*

¶ *Septima Pars.*

Septima pars principalis de alijs rebus superinventis generaliter vestibulo deputatis.

De Tapetis *Capitulum j.*
De Quissinis *Capitulum ij.*
De Pectoralibus Caparum *Capitulum iij.*
De Pannis aureis diversorum colorum et lectis *Capitulum iiij.*
De Pannis sericis diversorum colorum auro non textis *Capitulum v.*

De Zonis *Capitulum vj.*
De duabus novis Cistis et omnibus in eis contentis *Capitulum vij.*

Prima Pars.

Prima pars principalis de ornamentis tantum domino Abbati deputatis.
De mitris. Capitulum j.

In primis mitre sunt octo videlicet prima ex dono Domini Simonis quondam Cardinalis ornata perillis margaritis cum Septem monilibus[a] aureis in quibus inseruntur diversi lapides preciosi ac perille[b] in parte anteriori eiusdem mitre unde quinque lapides deficiunt in eadem parte. Et in parte posteriori totidem sunt monilia cum lapidibus preciosis et perillis unde deficiunt quatuor lapides et tres perille. Predicta vero mitra circumornata est borduris argenteis deauratis habens in utraque summitate eiusdem unum Saphirum labelle autem eiusdem ornate sunt perillis margaritis cum borduris argenteis et deauratis et octo tintinabulis longis argenteis et deauratis.[c] ¶ Secunda autem mitra ex dono predicti Domini Cardinalis ornata est cum perillis et viridibus lapidibus permixtis habens in parte anteriori duo monilia cum rubeis lapidibus magnis et totidem in parte posteriori cuius bordura amelata est cum Rosis albis circumquaque et in labella utraque tres noduli argentei et deaurati.[d] ¶ Tercia vero mitra ornata est cum perillis et lapidibus preciosis insertis et operis est antiqui ex quibus lapidibus deficiunt in parte anteriori . . . j. magne perille et una plata rotunda aurea. Et in parte posteriori deficiunt unus magnus lapis et tres perille. Et in labellis eiusdem deficiunt quinque lapides preciosi necnon in circumferencijs per totum diversi lapides minuti deficiunt.[e] ¶ Quarta autem mitra alba consuta est de Serico cum platis argenteis et deauratis diversis lapidibus ornata cum labellis

[a] The usual meaning of *monile* is a necklace. In the middle ages it seems to be used of any gemmed adornment. The Inventory of 1540 (p. 317) speaks of the jewelled and enamelled plates of gold at the back of the gloves as "monyals."

[b] *Perilla* I have been unable to find in any dictionary. It has been suggested that it means a bead or a seed pearl. It may be, I think, any small precious stone. See pars iij. cap. vii. "contexta cum . . . . perillis albis et rubeis," and cap. xx. "perillis diversorum colorum."

[c] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 318: "The best Myter of gold garnysshed with perleys and precious stones lacking a flowre and a stone therein and a lytle leaf of gold on the rybe thereof and haveyng ij labels perteyning to the same garnysshyd with viij gret stonys and perles and viij pendant bells of gold iiij^{xx} vj unces."

[d] Cf. "the second Myter of sylver and gylt garnysshed with white roses," of the Inventory of 1540, p. 318.

[e] Was this the mitre given by Henry III.? (Dart, *op. cit.* Book i. chap. iii. p. 26.)

eiusdem secte cum decem pendulis nodulis. ¶ Quinta vero mitra alba est deargentata habens duas stellas in parte anteriori et totidem in posteriori aurifragiata cum ymaginibus et continet in utraque summitate unam perillam. ¶ Sexta autem mitra de panno Serico vocato Bawdekyn aurifragiata est et continet duas stellas in medio amelata in parte anteriori et totidem in parte posteriori habens in utraque summitate unam perillam. ¶ Septima vero mitra de consimili panno aurifragiata est cum ymaginibus habens in utraque parte hoc nomen insertum ihc xpc. ¶ Octava autem mitra de panno albo Cerico dicto Satyn brudata per totum habens in utraque sui summitate unam crucem.

[Et in incremento de novo una mitra pro festo sancti Nicholai ad parvum pontificem deputata[a] cum platis argenteis et deauratis diversisque lapidibus in eisdem insertis cuius pars anterior continet Sancte Nicholae pars autem posterior Ora pro nobis de literis ex margaritis consitis cum duabus labellis eiusdem operis ex dono R. Tonworthe. Item]

De baculis pastoralibus. Capitulum ij.

Baculi autem pastorales sunt quatuor quorum primus est argenteus ex dono domini Nicholai Lytlyngton quondam Abbatis operis curiosi continens in curvitate deaurata assumpcionem beate virginis et ymagines Sanctorum Johannis evangeliste et beati regis Edwardi[b] cum uno angelo in manibus tenente caracterem predicti domini Nicholai Lytlyngtoñ. videlicet. N. L. Secundus vero est ex dono domini Thome Henle[c] quondam Abbatis argenteus continens in curvitate deaurata salutacionem beate virginis[d] cum uno angelo ex utraque parte consistente. ¶ Tercius autem baculus est ligneus et deargenteus[e] habens curvitatem argenteam et deauratam cum ymaginibus intronizatis Sanctorum Petri

[a] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 318: "The vj myter for Seynt Nycholas bysshoppe the grounde therof of whyte sylk garnysshed complete with flowres gret and small of sylver and gylte and stones complete in them with the scripture Ora pro nobis Sancte Nicholai embrodered theron in perll the sydes sylver and gylt and the toppys of sylver and gylt and enamelyd with ij labelles of the same and garnysshed in lyk maner and with viij long bells of sylver and gylt weying all together xxiij unces."

[b] Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Edward are naturally joined together in accordance with the legend of the ring.

[c] Thomas Henle, abbot from 1333 to 1344. "Dedit autem predictus abbas unum baculum pastoralem continentem in curvitate salutacionem beate marie virginis cum uno angelo ex utraque parte existente." (Flete MS. fol. 46.)

[d] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 318: "The best Crosse Staff of sylver gylt withe the Salutacon thereon lackynge an ymage and a pelycan cxlviij unces."

[e] This word has been re-written.

et Edwardi.[a] ¶ Quartus vero est eburneus habens curvitatem argenteam et deauratam cum vinea et botro.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De Serotecis.[b] *Capitulum iij.*

Paria quidem serotecarum sunt sex de Cerico[c] quorum primum par est ex dono Nicholai Lytlyngtoñ quondam Abbatis aurifragiatum continens in utraque seroteca .xvj. lapides preciosos cum uno monili argenteo et amelato perillis margaritis permixtis. ¶ Secundum vero par est ex dono domini Symonis quondam Cardinalis ornatum borduris argenteis et amelatis cum diversis ymaginibus et in utraque seroteca unum monile argenteum amelatum cum armis Sancti Edwardi. ¶ Tercium autem par aurifragiatum cum diversis lapidibus insertis ex quibus grandiores deficiunt et in utraque seroteca unum monile aureum veteri modo amelatum. ¶ Quartum vero par simpliciter aurifragiatum et in utraque seroteca unus circulus ad modum monilis parvi valoris. ¶ Quintum autem par simpliciter aurifragiatum est in custodia dompni abbatis. Et est triffuratum cum perillis ad modum crucis. ¶ Sextum vero par simpliciter est aurifragiatum cum duobus platis argenteis et deauratis. ¶ Item tria sunt paria Serotecarum de cerico bona. sed minime ornata extra numerum predictorum.

[Et in incremento de novo duo paria cerotecarum de coreo vocato Cheverel[d]

[a] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 319: "The thyrd Crose for Seynt Nycholas bysshoppe the hed thereof sylver and gylt garnysshed with great perles and stonys haveyng therof an ymage of Seynt Peter and an other of Seynt Edward of sylver and gylt, lacking vij stonys and perlys the staff therof round of coper and tymber weying all together lx. unces."

[b] Seroteca, ciroteca, chirotheca.

[c] The gloves of William of Wykeham, preserved at New College, Oxford, are of silk, like modern silk gloves, red in colour, on their backs a circle with rays coming out of it; very likely of much the same character as the fourth pair described in this chapter. This circle is spoken of by Innocent III. (*de sacro altaris mysterio*, lib. I., cap. lvi. Sylvae-Ducum 1846, p. 75). "Chirotheca circulum aureum desuper habet." In archbishop Bowet's Inventory (he died 1423) there was a pair "cirothecarum de coton, browdid [embroidered] cum ratione *Auxilium meum a Domino.*" (See articles by Mgr. X. Barbier de Montault, *Bulletin monumental*, 1876 and 1877.)

[d] Cheuerelle, ceddare (cheueler lether, P). See *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Camden Society, 1865, p. 73. Cheverel was thus a material for gloves in the fourteenth century as well as in Elizabethan times. See *Twelfth Night*, III. i. 13. I should not have thought the item worth noting, but Mr. Mackenzie Walcott seems puzzled over it, and speaks of the river Cherwell at Oxford, as "famous for the dressing of leather." (*Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 1881 vol. v. p. 440.) Surely *chevrel* is *chevreau*, a kid; and I believe chevrel gloves are sold under this name in English shops to this day.

cum duobus platis argenteis et deauratis unum in unius circumferencia scribitur Ora pro nobis beate Nicholae. In alterius vero Ut digni efficiamur [a] et cetera ex dono R. Tonworthe. ¶ Item.]

De Anulis. Capitulum iv.

Anuli quippe sunt sex quorum primus dicitur fuisse beate memorie quondam Sancti Regis Edwardi [b] aureus et bene triffuratus ornatus cum uno Saphiro et octo lapidibus rubeis in custodia abbatis. ¶ Secundus vero aureus bene triffuratus continens unum Saphirum et quatuor perillas. ¶ Tercius autem aureus cum uno magno Saphiro et quatuor lapidibus rubeis et totidem perillis. ¶ Quartus vero aureus cum uno lapide rubeo et octo lapillis ex quibus unus deficit. ¶ Quintus autem aureus cum uno lapide crocei coloris. ¶ Sextus vero argenteus et deauratus cum uno lapide rubeo et quatuor lapillis blodei coloris.

[Et in incremento de novo unus Anulus aureus cum uno magno Saphiro citrino [c] et quatuor perillis cum octo lapillis in circuitu.]

De Almicijs. Capitulum v.

Almicia sunt duo de Grys quorum primum optimum est ex dono Nicholai Lytlyngton abbatis. ¶ Secundum vero est ex antiquo in vestibulo reservatum.[d]

[a] This is a versicle and response. ℣. Ora pro nobis beate Nicholae. ℟. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

[b] This is the famous ring taken from the body of St. Edward when he was enshrined. We may note the feeling of doubt expressed in *dicitur*.

None of these rings corresponds with the rings described in the Inventory of 1540, p. 320.

[c] In the middle ages, sapphires of other colours than blue were certainly known. At Canterbury there were several black sapphires among the pontifical rings and jewels. (J. Dart, *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, London, 1726, Appendix, p. xiii.) The stone of one of the rings of William of Wykeham preserved at New College, Oxford, answers to the description of a *saphirus citrinus*. It is a very large stone, of a pale greenish colour, verging upon yellow. "Un saphir citrin" was amongst the jewels of the Duke of Berry in 1416. (Léon de Laborde, *Glossaire français du moyen age*, Paris, 1872, *sub voce* Cabochon, p. 181.) At Canterbury (Dart, *loc. cit.*) there was also: "annulus eum saphiro quadrato aquoso," and Edward I. had: "anulus auri cum saphiro crescenti qui fuit N. quondam Sarum episcopi, etc." (*Liber quotid. Contrarotulatoris Garderobae anno regni R. Edward I. xxviii.*° p. 278, MS. in Library of our Society) and which is again found in the goods of Piers Gaveston. (T. Rymer, *Foedera*, Lond. 1818, vol. ii. pars i. p. 203.) Was this allied to the star sapphire? The pontifical ring was often adorned with a sapphire, because this gem was supposed to quench the flame of concupiscence in its wearer.

[d] Cf. the Inventory of 1540, p. 324: "Oon good graye amyes not moche worne. An other greye amyse which is well worne and lately repaired."

[Et in incremento unum Almicium de Grys pro festo sancti Nicholai ad parvum pontificem deputatum ex dono R. Tonworthe. ¶ Item.]

De Rochetis. Capitulum vj.

Rocheti sunt quinque quorum duo primi et optimi de panno de Reynes et tertius de mediocri panno sunt ex dono N. L. abbatis. ¶ Quartus est eciam de bono panno cum nodo Cristallino. ¶ Quintus vero de panno mediocri ab antiquo in vestibulo reservatus.

[Et in incremento de novo unus Rochetus pro festo sancti Nicholai ad parvum pontificem deputatus ex dono R. Tonworthe. ¶ Item.]

De Superpelliciis. Capitulum vij.

Superpellicia quidem sunt quatuor quorum primum de bono panno ex dono Nicholai Lytlynton Abbatis alia vero tria eciam bona sunt ab antiquo in vestibulo reservata.

[Et in incremento de novo unum superpellicium pro festo sancti Nicholai ad parvum pontificem deputatum ex dono R. Tonworthe. ¶ Item.]

De dalmaticis diversorum colorum tantum pro domino Abbate deputatis. Capitulum viij.

Dalmaticarum diversorum colorum pro abbate tantum deputata paria sunt septem quarum primum par blodei coloris de dyaspyn[a] cum bestiis et avibus capitibus eorum et pedibus aureis. ¶ Secundum de panno de Satyn blodei coloris. ¶ Tercium de camaca albi coloris cum bestijs infra flores cubantibus.[b] ¶ Quartum de viridi panno de tartaryn. ¶ Quintum de nigro panno de samyt

[a] Here and there in the manuscript it seems doubtful whether the scribe have written *dyaspyn* or *dyaspyu*. Red and white suits of vestments of the same pattern are described in pars vi. cap. xvi. Fischbach (*Ornamente der Gewebe*, English ed. 21) reproduces a *diasprum*, a Byzantine fabric of the thirteenth century, the birds with heads and feet golden in a greenish ground. At Canterbury (Dart, *op. cit.* p. xvii.) there was: "Casula rubea de Antioche cum avibus in capite et pedibus deauratis."

[b] An example of this treatment may be seen in Fischbach, 105 A, which he attributes to Lucca, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

omnia ista paria dalmaticarum sunt ex dono Simonis Cardinalis. ¶ Sextum rubij coloris de dyaspyn cum bestiolis aureis de cipris intertextis. ¶ Septimum de nigro panno de Satyn.[a]

[...t in incremento de novo.]

De Sandalibus et Sotularibus.[b] *Capitulum ix.*

Paria quidem Sandalium sunt quatuor quorum primum par est de rubeo samyte brudatum cum ramis vinearum[c] sive arborum cum sotularibus de eadem secta. ¶ Secundum vero est de blodio samyte brudatum cum clavibus rosis et lunis cum sotularibus de secta. ¶ Tercium autem par est de nigro samite brudatum cum stellis lunis et talentis sine sotularibus de eadem secta. ¶ Quartum vero par est ex blodio panno deargentato cum sotularibus eiusdem secte ex dono Nicholai Litlingtoñ abbatis. Sotularium autem est et aliud par per se de corco desuper aurato cum diversis lapidibus impressis sine sandalibus eiusdem secte.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

Secunda Pars.

Secunda pars principalis de instrumentis processionum.

De Crucibus et Hastilibus. Capitulum j.

Cruces vero sunt septem[d] quarum prima argentea deaurata triffurata cum auro ornata diversis lapidibus preciosis et perillis auream habens ymaginem in qua deficiunt quinque magni lapides tres minores et duo perille. ¶ Secunda autem cristallina auream habens ymaginem. ¶ Tercia vero est magna cristallina continens in medio ymaginem crucifixi et beate virginis et sancti Johannis in Cristallo. ¶ ~~Quarta autem cristallina cum ymagine crucifixi eburnea in qua deficit~~

[a] Five pairs of dalmatics are described in the Inventory of 1540, but they do not correspond with those in chapter viii. above.

[b] Sotulares; sutulares, subtalares, probably a stocking, the inner of the two sets of foot-ornaments. See Macri, *Hierolexicon, sub voce*; and F. Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder*, Bonn, 1866. Bd. ii., S. 2, "die Pontifical-Strümpfe." There are many drawings of medieval buskins in Charles de Linas, *Anciens Vêtements Sacerdotaux*, Paris, 1860, troisième série, where the subject is considered from a comparative point of view. Bishop Waynflete's stockings and buskins, of large size, are preserved at Magdalen College, Oxford.

[c] Cf. Fischbach, 56 B. and 135, designs of vines and grapes.

[d] I cannot precisely identify any of the crosses in this chapter with those described on p. 323 of the Inventory of 1540.

~~sinistra manus ymaginis predicte~~.[a] ¶ Quinta magna lignea triffurata cum platis argenteis et deauratis et depicta cum diversis hystorijs. ¶ Sexta de lapide calcidonia cum duobus lapidibus de israel[b] rubeis in medio. ¶ Septima magna lignea cum quatuor lapidibus de berillo et alio magno lapide rubeo et ymagine crucifixi. ¶ Item quinque hastillia pro crucibus deferendis quorum tria sunt laminata cum argento et duo depicta.[c]

[Et in incremento de novo una crux argentea deaurata et bene amelata cum ymaginibus crucifixi Marie et Johannis stans in quadam basi cum pinnaculis subtiliter fabrifactis. Item unum Jocale magnum de berillo pro corpore Christi imponendo in argento deaurato artificiose compositum ex dono domini Thome Ducis Gloucestrie.[d] Item duo Angeli argentei et deaurati candelabra in manibus portantes ex dono eiusdem domini Ducis.[e] Quarta autem crux cristallina cum ymagine crucifixi argentea et deaurata.]

De Vexillis et tintinabulis. Capitulum ij.

Vexilla quidem sunt sexdecim[f] quorum quatuor sunt depicta super cruces tempore paschali deferenda cum sex tintinabulis eisdem deputatis. ¶ Quintum vero magnum vexillum album cum ymaginibus brudatis ex utraque parte videlicet crucifixi Marie et Johannis et duorum Cherubyn. ¶ Sextum rubeum continens in se ymaginem cuiusdam Imperatoris.[g] ¶ Septimum et octavum de armis novis

[a] This paragraph is erased, and a mark made in the margin against the first line, with a corresponding one against the last added entry.

[b] *Israel* appears to be any engraved stone or gem, as a cameo. There was one belonging to Piers Gaveston: "Un camaeu en or, de Israel." (Th. Rymer, *Foedera*, Lond. 1818. Vol. ii. pars i. p. 204) And among the relics at St. Paul's: "Quidam Lapis de Israell, exprimens Majestatem Dei, albi coloris," etc. (Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London*, Lond. 1818. Ed. Ellis. Appendix, p. 338.)

[c] There were four cross staffs of wood in 1540, covered with silver, two gilt and two white, p. 320.

[d] See Appendix iv. Cf. in Inventory of 1540, p. 317: "A Nooster for the Sacrament of curios work of sylver and gylt haveyng a berall in it cxliiij unces."

[e] "ij Angells of sylver and gylte holdyng ij candelstyckks, ccv unces." (Invent. 1540, p. 317.)

[f] In 1540 there were over a hundred banners "of dyvers sortts to hang aboute the churche. iiij gret banners to stand afore the Revestrye in the Rogacyon Weke." (p. 347.)

[g] The appearance of the image of a Roman emperor at Westminster is noteworthy, for the emperor was held to have no rights in the isle of Britain. Edward III. was Imperial Vicar; and he and the emperor (Lewis of Bavaria) had married sisters. Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III., was king of the Romans.

anglie et hanonie.[a] Nonum. x. xj. xij. de novis armis Anglie. Terciumdecimum et quatuordecimum de antiquis armis anglie. ¶ Quintumdecimum et sextumdecimum de armis istius ecclesie cum uno penicello de eisdem armis.

[Et in incremento de novo tria vexilla videlicet domini Imperatoris Romani [b] sancti Edwardi et sancti Edmundi cum alijs xliij diversorum Regum Ducum atque Comitum et totidem penisellis ex dono domini Regis Ricardi secundi.]

De Turribulis. Capitulum iij.

Turribula quidem sunt sex [c] argentea et deaurata quorum duo sunt magna ex dono quondam Regis Henrici tercii continentis in summitate duas parvas campanellas et quatuor alia sunt minora.

[Et in incremento de novo unum Turribulum magnum argenteum et deauratum cum ymaginibus angelorum in tabernaculis sedentibus ex dono domini Simonis Cardinalis. Item unum turribulum magnum argenteum et deauratum cum ymaginibus apostolorum argenteis in tabernaculis stantibus ex dono [d] domini Thome ducis Glowcestrie.]

De Acerris. Capitulum iiij.

Acerre autem sunt due [e] argentee cum duobus cocliaribus argenteis quorum unum est deauratum et supportatum a quatuor rotis in qua deficit unus lapis de berillo.

[Et in incremento de novo una Acerra argentea intus et exterius deaurata cum uno cocliari argenteo et deaurato ex dono domini Simonis Cardinalis.]

[a] Hanonia: Hainault: Philippa of Hainault was wife to Edward III. The new arms of England are the arms of France and England assumed by Edward III.

[b] The appearance of the Roman emperor may again be noticed. The banner is given by Richard II. who married Anne, daughter of the emperor. The arms of the empire are the first of those on the wall arcade of the north aisle of the nave. The arms of France ancient are next.

[c] There were three pairs of silver gilt censers in 1540 (p. 317).

[d] See Appendix IV.

[e] There was only one ship for incense in 1540 (p. 320), which could possibly represent one of these, as the second (p. 322) had the arms of Eslyp [Islip] on the lids: "a lytle dog of sylver" is spoken of under each entry, for the hand or hasp; was it at the pointed end of the lid, by which the lid could be raised?

De Situlis et Aspersoriis. Capitulum v.

Situla vero est una[a] argentea ~~cum antiquis armis anglie et~~ unum Aspersorium Argenteum pro eadem deputatum.

[Et in incremento de novo una situla costata argentea cum uno aspersorio argenteo pro eadem.]

De Candelabris. Capitulum vj.

Candelabra argentea sunt octo quorum duo sunt magna ex dono quondam Regis Henrici tercii ad modum columpnarum fabricata et sex alia sunt minora.[b]

[Et in incremento de novo quatuor candelabra argentea cum armis domini Simonis Cardinalis in medio amelatis ex dono eiusdem S.]

Tercia Pars.

Tercia pars principalis de Ornamentis altaris.

De Frontellis. Capitulum j.

Frontella quidem sunt quindecim quorum primum viride cum regibus et episcopis ex auro brudatis et in tabernaculis sedentibus.[c] ¶ Secundum aureum brudatum cum hystoria Nativitatis domini et passionis Sancti Thome et vita sancti Edwardi.[d] ¶ Tercium rubeum brudatum cum leopardis et circulis aureis. ¶ Quartum nigrum brudatum cum avibus et talentis et frectis transversis. ¶ Quintum cum armis

[a] There was only one holy water vat in 1540 (p. 320): "A Haly water Pott with a bayle and a spryngele all of sylver parcell gylt the spryngele fylled with burstyls complete, iiij^{xx} xvj unces."

[b] There are only four pair of candlesticks of silver in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 317). According to Dart (*op. cit.* Bk. 1. chap. iii. p. 26, see also vol. ii. p. 4) Henry III. gave a circle of silver for wax candles in the 28th year of his reign.

[c] This must be "a goodly fronte ffor beneth of grene satten garnysshyd with gold of dyvers Kyngs and bysshops with sconchyns with lyons at both the ends." (Inventory, 1540, p. 325.)

[d] The same also: "An Awlter clothe for benethe of gold nedyll work with the Birth of o^{r} Lord and Seynt Edwards story with ij addycons at the end of nedyll work garnyshed with perlys." (Inventory, 1540, p. 325.) From the life of St. Edward being embroidered on this frontal, it was very likely *opus Anglicanum*. Was it the famous frontal given by Henry III. about 1271? (Rock, *Textile Fabrics* Introduction, p. xxxv.)

Anglie et Francie ex dono domini Johannis Graunsoni quondam episcopi Exoniensis.[a] ¶ Sextum viride cum aurifragijs deputatum vigilijs principalibus.[a] ¶ Septimum de panno albo auro contextum admodum stellarum cum frontilecto eiusdem secte.[b] ¶ Octavum similiter album auro intextum de panno damasci indentatum ex dono Symonis Cardinalis. ¶ Nonum de panno aureo de luca varij coloris stragulatum et diversis literis inscriptis cum frontilecto eiusdem secte eiusdem Cardinalis[c]. ¶ Decimum de armis Anglie et Francie in Rubio et blodio velvecto cum leopardis et floribus deliciarum contextis de sepultura Edwardi tercii.[d] ¶ Undecimum de nigro chamellet cum frontilecto eiusdem secte habens in medio crucifixum cum duabus ymaginibus deauratis videlicet Marie et Johannis et in quolibet latere tres leones deauratos stantes in Rubeo velvecto[e] cum duobus scutis ex utroque latere frontelli Canc' scilicet et flandre. Ac eciam duo Scuta de armis ecclesie Westm' ex utraque parte crucifixi predicti quod est ex dono Nicholai L. abbatis ¶ Duodecimum nigrum cum signis[f] deauratis stantibus in naviculis ad arbores colligatis cum frontilecto eiusdem secte. ¶ Terciumdecimum albi coloris supra contextum vineis viridibus cum aurifragiis ex dono Regis Edwardi tercii cum frontilecto eiusdem secte. ¶ Quartumdecimum blodij coloris cum Archangelis deauratis[g] contextis ex dono domini Edmundi quondam comitis lancastrie. ¶ Quintumdecimum frontellum pro tempore quadragesimali assignatum magno altari de panno de bawdekyn coloris de tawny[h] cum frontilecto et uno Reredos attingente usque ad celaturam predicti altaris unius secte in quibus

[a] Cf. "The Vigyll ffrontal of grene cadas." Invent. 1540, p. 326. "[Sold] ij grene copes of bawdkyn servyng for the Vigyll of Easter and Pentecost", (p. 334) "oon albe of grene velvett embrothered with sterrys for the Prior in Principal Vigills (*erased*)" (p. 337). Green was clearly the colour at Westminster for principal vigils.

[b] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 326: "Another for benethe for the day of ye Epiphanye of whyte wyth starrys."

[c] No doubt of a suit with the ridells described below (cap. v.)

[d] Cf. "A nother of blewe velvett with ffloure de lyces and lypards. A frontell belonging to the same." (Inventory, 1540, p. 326.)

[e] The arms of England. Very likely *opus Anglicanum*.

[f] The swan . . . this majestic creature was a favourite with Sicilians." (Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, Lond. 1870, p. lxix. of Introduction.)

[g] Cf. "A nother of blewe with angells for Mygelmas day." (Inventory, 1540, p. 326.) Archangels are, however, very common in this Inventory of 1388 upon all colours.

[h] Tawny, as the colour for Lent, should be noted.

continentur ymago crucifixi Marie et Johannis Agnus dei cum Ewangelistis[a] et unum par Ridellarum eiusdem coloris de tartaryn ex dono N. L. abbatis.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De Frontilectis. Capitulum ij.

Frontilecta sunt undecim quorum sex frontelle eiusdem secte sunt consute et quinque sunt frontilecta pallis altaris consuta quorum primum cum diversis scutis et perillis permixtis est ex dono Regis Edwardi tercii ¶ Secundum vero latum cum ymaginibus de opere romano ex dono domini Johannis Graunsoni episcopi Exoniensis. ¶ Tercium autem de rubeo velvet cum rosis deauratis et et (*sic*) avibus de perillis ex dono Nicholai litlyngton Abbatis. ¶ Quartum vero de armis Anglie et Francie in Rubio blodio velvet receptum de Sepultura Regis Edwardi tercii.[b] ¶ Quintum autem cum floribus deliciarum deauratis et stellis argenteis in circulis.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De pallis. Capitulum iij.

Palle[c] vero sive togelle[d] magni altaris sunt decem ex quibus quinque sunt de opere Parisie vel Northfolchie.[e] relique autem quinque constant de panno lineo sine opere curioso.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De Custodibus.[f] *Capitulum iv.*

Paria quidem custodum sunt tria ex quibus primum par est de rubeo velvett uterque continens quinque Leopardos aureos brudatos et habet eciam uterque bor-

[a] Cf. among the *Lent Stuff* of the Inventory of 1540 (p. 327): "A yellowe awter clothe with the iiij Evaungelysts."

[b] See above Chapter j. § x.

[c] *Palla altaris* is the usual medieval name for the linen covering of the altar.

[d] Togilla, a towel. See *Promp. Parv.* 498. In 1540 there were eight cloths of linen (p. 342).

[e] Norfolk work is no doubt worsted.

[f] Custodibus: these are the costers to the altar, side-curtains.

duram de blodio panno deaurato.[a] ¶ Secundum vero par custodum est de rubeo velvett' et continet uterque quatuor ymagines et unum Leopardum in summitate eiusdem ex dono Nicholai Litlington Abbatis. ¶ Tercium autem par est de rubeo panno deaurato habens in parte inferiori ymagines salvatoris et beate virginis cum suo infantulo ac duodecim apostolorum.

[Et in incremento de novo].

De Ridellis. Capitulum v.

Paria quippe Ridellarum sunt sex[b] quarum primum par deauratum diversorum colorum stragulatum diversis litteris permixtum quondam Symonis Cardinalis. ¶ Secundum vero par de albo panno dicto de Satyn receptum de sepultura Regine Philippe.[c] ¶ Tercium autem par est ex panno blodio de tartaryn ex dono Symonis Cardinalis. ¶ Quartum vero par [. . .][d] est ex blodio panno de sarcinet cotidianum. ¶ Quintum autem par ex nigro panno de Satyn ex dono Nicholai Litlington Abbatis. ¶ Sextum vero par est de rubeo panno de Sarcynet cotidianum.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De Calicibus. Capitulum vj.

Calices mempe (*sic*) sunt octo argentei et deaurati cum totidem patenis quorum primus est magnus cum duabus auriculis[e] pro oblatis deputatus et duo disci ornati pro eodem auro et lapidibus quorum unus est de Berillo et alter de Calcidonio et

[a] The arms of Richard de Bynteworth, bishop of London in 1338-39, were, *Gules, five lions rampant in cross or.*

[b] In 1540 there were eight pairs of curtains; green for St. Edward's days, blue for Michaelmas, and crimson for cotidians (p. 342).

[c] White was used at funerals at this time. Otto de Grandison in 1358, willed that "only a white cloth with a red cross" should be laid over his body at his funeral. (Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, Lond. 1676. Vol. ii. p. 18.)

[d] Word elided.

[e] This is clearly a ministerial chalice with two handles, such as was common before Communion in both kinds was restricted to the celebrant, or his immediate ministers. See the drawings in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. chalice. I cannot identify this chalice in the Inventory of 1540. The spoons may have been used for either straining the wine or for adding a small quantity of water to the wine in the chalice. It is less likely that they were used for Communion by intinction.

duo Cocliaria aurea ex dono quondam Regis Henrici tercii. ¶ Secundus et tercius sunt ex dono domini N. Abbatis amelati cum literis N. et L. et in una patena continetur ymago divine maiestatis et in altera ymago veronice cum versu. **Solus ab eterno** et cetera.[a] ¶ Quartus argenteus et deauratus cum lapidibus diversis et perillis in pede ex dono Roberti[b] quondam Prioris prout in fundo eiusdem describitur. ¶ Quintus cum ymagine beate marie et alijs ymaginibus et angelis in pede ex dono Helye[c] quondam prioris prout in patena eiusdem describitur. ¶ Sextus habens in patena solam ymaginem crucifixi. Septimus argenteus deauratus habens sub pede quatuor literas E. M. R. et E.[d] ~~in custodia Johannis Wrottyng~~ ¶ ~~Octavus calix parvus est et parvi ponderis~~ ¶ Item due patene argentee [et bene][e] deaurate ad magnum altare deputate pro oblacionibus faciendis.[f]

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De corporalibus. Capitulum vij.

Caselle quidem corporalium sunt novem de quibus prima est aurea auro contexta cum duobus Scutis et perillis albis et rubeis per circuitum ad modum vinee insertis cum panno corporali. ¶ Secunda est de viridi velvecto brudata in

[a] Cf. the Inventory of 1540, p. 321: "The best Chales with a Patent of sylver and gylt the Patent haveyng the ymage of the Father in the myddyst enamyled and over the ffoot of the same chales the ymages of ye Crucifix Marye and John with thes ij letters N and L crownyd and enamyld, lxxij unces. The second chales with a patent of sylver and gylt with the fygure of Cryst syttyng in the Dowme in the myddyst of the patent with thys scripture about the same Ego solus ab eterno creo cuncta liij unces. . . . . the iiij^th^ chales with the patent of sylver and gylt perteynyng to Seynt Blase altar the foote of the same chales being round and haveyng the ymage of Chryst enamylyd on the same with the ymage of the Dowme in the myddyst of the patent enamyled with N and L crownyd at the foot of the same dowme, xxiiij unces." Nicholas Lytlyngton often has his initials crowned; they may be seen thus in his mass book in the chapter library and his gifts to the frater. (Flete's MS. *Chronicon*, chapter library.)

[b] There were two Roberts priors of Westminster; one about 1202, and the other apparently before Richard de Berkyng.

[c] There were also two Helias or Elyas priors, one in abbot Gervase' time, the other in abbot Ware's time.

[d] Possibly the initials of the givers of the chalice. John de Mordon and Richard Excetere are spoken of elsewhere as benefactors. (Pars iij. cap. viij. § iij. and pars iv. cap. x.)

[e] In a later hand, over an erasure.

[f] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 322: "ij Patentes for oblacyons of sylver and gylt with Jhus crowned in the myddes of eyther of the patentes xii. unces."

medio cum pellicanis ex una parte et ~~ex alia parte brudata~~ cum Leopardo et in quatuor partibus agnus dei cum panno corporali. ¶ Tercia de panno brudata continens in una parte ymaginem crucifixi Marie et Johannis et ex altera ymaginem beate virginis cum suo infantulo et duobus angelis thurificantibus et leopardis per circuitum cum panno corporali. ¶ Quarta vero est de panno brudata habens in una parte salutacionem Angelicam et Nativitatem dominicam et ex altera parte unum magnum Scutum cum panno corporali. ¶ Quinta autem brudata continens in una parte Resurrectionem dominicam et apparicionem[a] eiusdem ad magdalenam et ex altera parte unum magnum Scutum consimile predicto Scuto cum panno corporali. ¶ Sexta vero est brudata cum ymagine crucifixi Marie et Johannis et quatuor angelis in lateribus et duobus angelis in summitate cum panno corporali. ¶ Septima est brudata cum ymagine maiestatis et quatuor evangelistis ex una parte et ymagine beate virginis cum suo infantulo et quatuor angelis thurificantibus ex altera parte sine panno corporali. ¶ Octava vero brudata cum assumpcione beate marie et quatuor evangelistis ex una parte et ex altera habens ymaginem crucifixi Marie et Johannis cum scutis in summitate cotidianum sine panno corporali. ¶ Nona quidem est de blodio velvecto cum septem tassellis rubei cerici cum panno corporali eciam cotidianum.[b]

[¶ Et in incremento de novo unum corporale cum casella brudata et ymaginibus crucifixi Marie et Johannis in una parte. Et Marie Johannis Baptiste et Johannis Ewangeliste.][c]

De Missalibus et alijs libris. Capitulum viij.

Missalia et alij libri sunt septemdecim de quibus quinque sunt Missalia quorum primum unum bonum Missale et grande ex dono quondam Nicholai Lytlington abbatis.[d] ¶ Secundum ex dono domini Willelmi Curtlyngton[e] Abbatis et remanet continue in capella Abbatis. ¶ Tercium ex dono fratris Johannis de Mordoñ. ¶ Quartum cotidianum pro magno altari. ¶ Quintum

[a] This word has been much tampered with.

[b] Here blue is the quotidian colour.

[c] This would seem to be the corporas case described in the Inventory of 1540, p. 341: "The iij[de] of the ymage of our Lady and saynte John Baptiste and saynte John evangeliste on the oon syde and the crucifix on the other syde of clothe of gold garnyshed with perles."

There are also nine corporas cases in the Inventory of 1540, but this is the only one which I can identify.

[d] This still happily exists in the chapter library. It is spoken of in the Inventory of 1540, p. 343.

[e] William Curtlynton was abbot from 1315 to 1333.

missale pulcrum sine epistolis et evangelijs.[a] ¶ Sextus liber cum evangelijs tantum ad magnum altare cotidie legendis. ¶ Septimus liber cum epistolis tantum cotidie legendis.[b] ¶ Octavus et Nonus liber benedictionales cum coronacione regum et alijs in eisdem contentis.[c] Decimus et undecimus sunt collectaria pro capitulis et collectis ad horas dicendis quorum unum est bonum et novum ex dono domini Nicholai litlington quondam Abbatis et alterum vetus.[d] Duodecimus et Terciusdecimus sunt psalteria quorum unus fuit domini Regis Henrici tertii cum Apocalipsi in fine alterum vero cum diversis ymaginibus depictis post kalendare.[e] ¶ Quartusdecimus pro aqua benedicenda diebus dominicis[f] qui remanet in custodia serviencium ecclesie. ¶ Quintusdecimus pro cereo paschali benedicendo[g] et alijs pluribus in eodem contentis. ¶ Sextusdecimus et septimusdecimus sunt quaterni boni pro lectionibus legendis in vigilia pasche et pentecostes.[h]

[a] A mass-book without epistles and gospels would be most likely a sacramentary.

[b] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 343: "a Gospell Booke cotidyan for the high awlter, ij° folio in via alii autem." These are words from the Gospel for the first Wednesday in Advent, Westminster use. (Matth. xxi. 1-9.) *Principium* was the gospel for the first Sunday, as at Hereford, and among the Cistercians and others. "A Pystle Booke cotidian ij folio mansuetus emisit."

[c] Cf. "A Pontificall with a coveryng of clothe of golde and a claspe of sylver ij° folio Dominum carnem. A nother Boke of Coronacyons of Kyngs ij° folio quia non erat." Invent. 1540, p. 344.

[d] The first of these is in all likelihood the one described as "a Collector for Collects and chapters servyng for o^r^ father Abbott of Abbott Lytlyngton's gyffte for Principall ffeasts withoute claspys covered with olde bawdekyn. a Collector for the Prior when he dothe servys ij° folio exita dñe with ij claspes of sylver and gylt." (Invent. 1540, p. 344.) *Excita domine* are the first words of several of the Advent collects, Westminster use; it may have been that for the fourth Sunday in Advent.

[e] There can be no doubt that these two books are described in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 344): "A Sauter for the Kynge somtyme callyd Kynge Henry the iij^de^ with the Apocalyppes in the end ij° folio Super Sion haveing clasps of sylver. a nother Sauter with dyvers ymages affter the Calender ij° folio tunc loquetur." Super Sion: ps. ii. 6. tunc loquetur: ps. ii. 5. The latter of these psalters answers in its description to a psalter in the British Museum (2. A. xvij), and the Calendar of which would point to Westminster.

[f] Cf. "a nother Boke for Holy Water for Sondays ij° folio benedicere et sanctificare. (Invent. 1540, p. 344). The office for blessing holy water will be found in abbot Lytlyngton's book immediately after the calendar, and it corresponds closely with that of Sarum. The words "benedicere et sanctificare" are to be found in the second collect.

[g] The ceremonies at Westminster on Easter Even differed in some points from those at Rome or Sarum, but they had much more likeness to those of the latter; while the ceremonies at Monte Cassino in 1515 were closely akin to those at Rome. (*Missale Monasticum secundum morem et ritum Casinensis congregationis alias Sancte Justine*, Venetiis, de Giuntis, 1515.)

[h] Cf. "A nother to bless the paseall folio secundo Iudas Scaryott with Lessons for Ester and Whitsontyd and a nother Quere for the same feasts ij° folio illum est qui." (Invent 1540, p. 344.) The Westminster text of *Exultet* corresponds with that of Sarum at the end.

[Et in incremento de novo unus liber epistolarum cum ymaginibus prophetarum in principio depictis.][a]

De Textibus. Capitulum ix.

Textus autem sunt sex quorum primus magnus cum ymagine Trinitatis et duobus angelis argenteis et deauratis in parte superiori et ymagine crucifixi Marie et Johannis in parte inferiori habens triffuratas aureas cum lapidibus diversis et perillis permixtis. ¶ Secundus autem cum ymagine crucifixi Marie et Johannis in triffurato auro et lapidibus ac perillis in quo deficit unus magnus lapis cristallinus.[b] ¶ Tercius cum trinitate et laminis amelatis intriffuratis argenteis et deauratis. ¶ Quartus parvus est et ornatus cum argento deaurato solam habens ymaginem planam crucifixi cum lapillis. ¶ Quintus parvus pro missa matutinali deputatus ornatus cum argento deaurato ymaginem habens argenteam crucifixi tantum. ¶ Sextus vero omni ornamento spoliatus per quendam furem.

[. . t in incremento de novo unus textus ornatus platis argenteis et deauratis de assumpcione beate Marie. Item unus textus vetus ornatus platis argenteis et deauratis cum ymagine crucifixi Marie et Iohannis et quinque lapidibus incertis. Item unus textus ornatus platis argenteis et deauratis cum ymaginibus crucifixi Marie et Johannis cum duobus mocys (*sic*)[c] in summitate amelatis. Item unus textus parvus ornatus platis argenteis cum ymaginibus crucifixi Marie et Iohannis sole et luna in summitate deauratis. Item unus textus parvus ornatus platis argenteis cum magestate et quatuor ewangelistis. Item unus parvus textus ornatus platis argenteis cum ymagine crucifixi eburnea in medio.]

[a] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 344: "A nother booke of Pystles with ymages in begynnyng ij° folio Sibi Populum." (Perhaps from *Ep. ad Titum*, ii. 14, the first mass of Christmas.)

[b] Cf. the Inventory of 1540, p. 323. There were only two texts in the later inventory. At Canterbury in 1315 the books were also arranged in a chapter separate from the texts. Several of the latter are described as *sine libro*, and, although a *textus* is usually a copy of the Gospels, yet one of those at Canterbury contained a psalter of St. Thomas. (J. Dart, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, Lond. 1726. Appendix, p. xvii.) At Durham, "the Gospeller did carrye a marvelous FAIRE BOOKE, wh. had the Epistles and Gospells in it, and did lay it on the Altar, the which booke had on the outside of the coveringe the picture of our Saviour Christ, all of silver, of goldsmiths worke, all parcell gilt, verye fine to behould: which booke did serve for the PAX in the masse." (*Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, No. 15, p. 7.)

[c] Mocys, moyces, the clasp of a cope. In this case, very likely, they are the clasps of the book. "Una capa . . . . Sancto Andrea in le moyce." (*Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Soc. 1859, p. 228.)

De tabulis osculatorijs. Capitulum x.

Tabule osculatorie sunt quatuor[a] unde tres argentee et amelate pro pace danda quarum due sunt ex dono N. L. Abbatis quondam unde in una habentes ℵ. ℒ. sculptas et in altera ℵ. ℒ. sub pede crucifixi et in lateribus tabule amelate. ¶ Tercia parva est ex dono quondam fratris Johannis Somerton cum una lingula in tergo[b] eiusdem. ¶ Quarta tabula est magna et cupria deaurata cum ymagine crucifixi Marie et Johannis et scutis Anglie et francie.

[. . t in incremento de novo una de auro puro et perillis cum ymagine crucifixi.]

De Pelvibus. Capitulum xj.

Pelves enim sunt .iiij. unde .ij. majores ex dono quondam.N.lytlyngtoñ abbatis quarum una continet in fundo salutacionem beate virginis. Altera vero ymagines Apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Due autem alie sunt minores quarum una continet in fundo ymaginem Sancti Petri altera quidem ymaginem Sancti Pauli.[c]

[. . t in incremento de novo duae pelves argentee argentee (*sic*) et deaurate cum ymaginibus Sancte Trinitatis et beate virginis infra medium solis in fundo ex dono domini T. Ducis Glowcestrie.[d]

Item una pelvis lata boni ponderis cum scuto rubei coloris et quinque stellis aureis in fundo cum aquario pro eadem . ex dono domini W. Dittoñ.

Item una pelvis parva argentea et deaurato cum sole et scriptura ihc in medio. Et unum cocleare pro eadem ad oblacionem specialiter deputata.]

[a] In the Inventory of 1540 there were "ij Paxes of sylver and gylte, one of them belongyng to the lady Margarett's Awlter, haveying theron the fygure of the Trinitie and portculles enamyled, the other haveynge theron graved the fygure of Cryste appon the Crose with Mary and John xi. unces" (p. 319). The portcullis on the first of these would make it in all likelihood later than 1388, and the other pax bredes described were enamelled, not graven, nor were they of copper.

[b] Representations of the pax brede have often a handle at the back, by which the instrument could be carried and presented.

[c] Cf. "one aulter Bason gilt wth a roose in the bottome and therin graven S^{t}. peter and S^{t}. Paull poz. xxx. oz. di." (*Inventory of the King's Jewel-house* 1547. MS. cxxix. penes Soc. Ant. Lond. fol. 117.)

[d] See Appendix iv. in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 320): "A Basyn of sylver and gylt with the ymage of the Trinitie in the myddyst enamyled with vj scochons of sylver and gylt enamyled apon the edge. An other Basyn of sylver and gylt with o^{r} Lady syttyng in the myddyste enamelyd with iiij scoucheons of sylver and gylt enamelyd apon the edge lxxvj unces." It may be noted that the altar basons often occur in pairs.

De Ursiolis et Ampullis. Capitulum xij.

Ursioli sive phiale[a] et ampulle sunt decem de quibus due phiale sunt argentee et deaurate ex dono quondam N. L. Abbatis. ¶ ~~Tercia et quarta alie minores argentee et deaurate cum fistulis.~~[b] ¶ Quinta et sexta . . . alie argentee minime deaurate pro altari cotidiano. ¶ ~~Septima parva argentea cum fistula sola tantum.~~ ¶ Octava ampulla[c] est magna et deaurata pro crismate sancto imponendo. ¶ Nona et decima argentea sed minime deaurate quarum una continet oleum sanctum altera . . quidem oleum infirmorum.

[. . t in incremento de novo duo urseoli argentei et deaurati cum versibus in circuitu medio descriptis pro oblacione facienda.[d]]

[a] The *ursioli* or *phialae* are what we now a days call cruets, in which the wine and water were taken to the chalice and therein mixed.

[b] Mr. W. H. St. John Hope points out to me that *fistula* here may mean a spout (See Spowte, *Prompt. Parv.*, and drawing of a medieval altar cruet in *Specimens of Ancient Church Plate*, Parker, Oxford, 1845.) and in support of his view I have noticed that at York soon after 1500 there was: "alia phiala argentea . . . . cum ij le Spowtes." (*Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Soc. 1859, p. 216.) Ordinarily, in liturgical language, the *fistula* is a tube or reed by means of which the contents of the chalice were received. When the Pope celebrated pontifically, both he and his ministers received in this manner. See the drawing of the Communion of the Pope in Angelo Rocca. (*Opera omnia*, Romae, 1719, t. i. p. 14.) This mode of receiving the Communion was once widely spread, and persisted in some French monasteries long after the Lutheran Reformation. (A. du Saussay, *Panoplia sacerdotalis*, Pars I. Lib. viii. § xii. Lut. Paris, 1653, p. 244.)

[c] The *ampullae* are for the holy oils; the largest and most important for the *crisma* or cream, compounded of oil and balm; the two others, *oleum sanctum* and *oleum infirmorum* are of simple oil. All three are blessed by the bishop on the Thursday before Easter. Cf. Inventory of 1540 (p. 324): "An other pott with hys cover of sylver and gylt haveyng in them Holy Oyle and creme with ther stekes in them weying all togeather, oyle and all, lxxj unces." The *stekes* are perhaps the rods by means of which the oils were applied to the surface of the body. Such for the *oleum infirmorum* at the death-bed of abbot Islip may be seen figured in the Islip Roll, reproduced in *Vetusta Monumenta*, Lond. 1815, vol. iv.

[d] *Pro oblacione facienda.* At Westminster it may be noted that the chalice was prepared while the priest was vesting. After the priest had taken the stole, and before he had taken the chasuble, he mixed water with the wine in the chalice. (See abbot Lytlyngton's mass-book in the chapter library.) I have found a custom exactly like this in only one other church, that of St. Martin at Ainay, Lyons, also a Benedictine house. (*Missale secundum usum monasterii Sancti Martini Athanaci*, 1531. Tractatus pro eruditione sacerdotum.) Of course the custom of preparing the elements before mass began was very widely spread in the middle ages.

De Pixidibus. Capitulum xiij.

Pixis est una argentea pro oblatis imponendis.[a]
[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Calefactorijs.[b] *Capitulum xiiij.*

Pile calefactorie. sunt tres quarum prima est argentea et deaurata cum suis appendicijs intrinsecus[c] ¶ Secunda et tercia cuprie et deaurate cum suis appendicijs intrinsecus.
[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Muscarijs. Capitulum xv.

Muscarium ad fugandum muscas[d] est unum argento in manubrio laminatum.
[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Superaltaribus. Capitulum xvj.

Superaltaria[e] quippe sunt tria quorum primum et secundum sunt ex lapide Jaspidis. ¶ Tercium marmoreum.

[a] The pyx was commonly used for the reservation of the Eucharist, but it was also used for carrying the bread to the altar. At York soon after 1500, there were: "Una pixis argenti . . . pro pane portanda diebus ferialibus, pond. x unc. di. . . . . Una pixis argenti deaurati cum rotundo nodo pro pane portanda ad summum altare in festis duplicibus, pond. j. lb." (*Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Soc. 1859, p. 221.) In the Inventory of 1540, p. 322, there is: "A box for Synging bred of sylver whyte, ij unces di."

[b] Cf. "Unum pomum de cupro superauratum ad calefaciendum manus." (*Lichfield Sacrist's Roll*, 1345. Ed. Cox and Hope. In *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, iv. 109.) Amongst the *instrumenta* of the Coronation of the Roman emperor were these *poma*. One is still kept in the sacristy of St. Peter's at Rome, and another is in the treasury at Halberstadt. (F. Bock, *Kleinodien des heil. röm. Reiches*, § 117, and Taf. xx. Fig. 28.)

[c] The appendages may be the iron to be heated, and then encased in metal, which was again put inside the perforated *pila*. "Item one warminge ball of silver with a pece of iron in it, poiz together vj oz." (Henry VIII.'s Jewel Book, MS. exxix., fo. 139, in the library of our Society.)

[d] Several instances of the liturgical fan in this country are given in a paper by Mr. Albert Way. (*Archaeological Journal*, 1848, vol. v. p. 201.)

[e] The super altar was a small portable altar. Jasper was a favourite material for them. In a commission from Christopher Bainbridge, archbishop of York from 1508 to 1514, a suffragan is

[. . t in incremento de novo unum superaltare bonum marmoreum. Item unum superaltare de alabastro.]

De Pectinibus. Capitulum xvij.

Pectines autem eburnei sunt duo[a] quorum primus est integer et planus. Secundus scul[p]tus sed in medio confractus.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Manutergijs. Capitulum xviij.

Manutergia quidem sunt tria de opere Parisiensi ad magnum altare deputata.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Sudarijs. Capitulum xix.

Sudaria sunt duo de Cerico stragulata pro patenis tenendis ad missas.[b]

[. . t in incremento de novo unum sudarium de albo cerico cum stragulis aureis et cericis varij coloris pro festis principalibus.]

allowed to bless altars, "necnon viatica seu portatilia quae superaltaria vulgariter nuncupamus." (*Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, Surtees Soc. Ed. Dr. Henderson, 1875, Preface, p. v.) Almost the same words are to be seen in the commission of bishop Vesey of Exeter in 1521. (*Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy Bishop of Exeter*, Ed. Ralph Barnes, Exeter, 1847. Glossary sub v. altare portatile.) The gradin upon which the candlesticks and cross are set on the altar in modern times was unknown in the fourteenth century.

[a] The abbot of Westminster combed his hair before washing hands, as preparation for mass. (*Consuetudinary*, fo. 29.) The comb was also used by English bishops. "Caligis et sandaliis impositis, pontifex prius quam sibi amictum imponat, caput pectinet, manus et faciem lavet." (*Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, Surtees Soc. 1875, p. 3.) In 1245 there was a silver gilt comb, six ivory, and ten other combs at St. Paul's. (See Dr. W. Sparrow Simpson, *Archaeologia*, 1887, vol. l. pp. 458 and 472.)

At Westminster the presence of combs is noteworthy because they were part of the *instrumenta* of a coronation. Amongst the Regalia at Westminster, destroyed by the rebels in 1649, was "one old combe of horne, worth nothing." (*Archaeologia*, 1806, vol. xv. p. 289.) In the Inventory of 1540 (p. 345) was "A combe of yvory servyng for prestes when y^ei^ fyrst say masse," though, I fear, I cannot exactly understand the note which the editor adds: "This important entry shows the use of the comb so often mentioned in inventories and occasionally found in tombs."

[b] The *sudarium* has here plainly the same office that the *velum subdiaconale* fulfils in the modern ceremonial. It may be noteworthy that this inventory gives no description of an ornament that can be identified with the modern silk cahlice veil. In 1540 there were no less than thirteen sudaryes (p. 343).

De Cervicalibus. Capitulum xx.

Cervicalia sunt xvj. quorum primum est frectatum cum perillis diversorum colorum de diversis armis. ¶ Secundum et tercium de blodio velvecto contexto cum armis comitis Lancastrie de una secta ex dono N. L. Abbatis. ¶ Quartum brudatum continens in se quandam ymaginem sedentem in Cathedra habentem tria capita.[a] ¶ Quintum rubeum brudatum habens in medio. cor de perillis et avem desuper stantem.[b] ¶ Sextum rubeum habens in medio [ymaginem sancti Edmundi Re]ᶜgis. Septimum et Octavum et nonum cum diversis Scutis. ¶ Decimum et undecimum de nigro velvecto. ¶ Duodecimum et tercium decimum de viridi velvetto stragulato. ¶ Quartumdecimum et quintum decimum de viridi Tartaryn. Sextumdecimum pro abbate quando residet in capitulo.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Tabulis Plicabilibus. Capitulum xxj.

Tabule sunt due plicabiles ex dono N. L. Abbatis bene depicte quarum prima continet in se in una parte ymaginem crucifixi Marie et Johannis et marie magdalene. In altera vero parte continentur ymago beate virginis tenens filium in gremio et ymagines Johannis baptiste et Katerine. ¶ Secunda vero tabula continet in se in una parte salutacionem beate virginis. In altera vero parte Nativitatem domini.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Cathedris et pannis cathedralibus. Capitulum xxij.

Cathedre sunt tres pontificales quarum una est deargentea. Secunda et tercia ferree[d] et tres panni eisdem Cathedris deputati quorum primus est panno

[a] Possibly a representation of the Holy Trinity.

[b] Probably the crest or badge of some unknown donor or patron.

[c] These words written over an erasure.

[d] There were two "cheyres," and three cloths for the same in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 349), and "a gret blewe clothe with Kyngs on horsse bake for Saynt Nicholas cheyre" (p. 328). In the South Kensington Collection, No. 8589, is a "piece of silk and linen Tissue . . . . crowned kings on horseback amid foliage, each holding on his wrist a hawk, and having a small dog on the crupper of his saddle. Sicilian, early 13th century." (Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, Lond. 1870, p. 223. See also Introduction, p. lxviii.) See also below, Pars vj. cap. iij.

albo auro contexto in medio. ¶ Secundus autem de panno blodio de dyaspyn in medio. ¶ Tercius vero de panno viridi de dyaspyn in medio. Qui omnes sunt bordurati de panno stragulato rubei et blodei Sandelli unius secte ex dono Symonis Cardinalis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Velo e[t] pannis quadragesimalibus. Capitulum xxiij.

Velum est unum pro magno altari de Serico in medio divisum[a] Crocei et blodij coloris et sex alij panni quadragesimales quo primus pannus lineus latus cum signis dominice passionis pro cruce velanda. ¶ Secundus et tercius pro ymaginibus apostolorum Petri et Pauli velandis.[b] ¶ Quartus et quintus pro costis magni altaris. ¶ Sextus longus pro trabe sub pede Crucifixi velanda.[c]

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

Quarta Pars.

Quarta pars principalis de Albis principalibus aureis et de diversis coloribus cum et sine stolis et manipulis una cum albis Sancti Dunstani.

De Albis principalibus de Serico[d] *cum pararuris* (sic) *brudatis. Capitulum j.*

Albe sunt viginti de serico principales quarum prima cum pararis crocei coloris cum bizancijs de secta cape principalis Sancti Edwardi de sepultura eius[e] ¶ Secunda cum una parura rubea continens salutacionem angelicam ad beatam virginem salutacionem elizabeth nativitatem domini oblacionem trium magorum et purificacionem in una parte. Et in altera vero parte alterius coloris continet assumpcionem beate virginis et ymagines .xij. apostolorum. ¶ Tercia contexta cum auro continet in una parte ymaginem christi cum sex apostolis et duobus

[a] A good representation of a white Lenten veil *in medio divisum* at the moment of consecration may be seen in F. Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, Bonn, 1871. Bd. iii. Taf. viii. When I was at Toledo in 1884, the Lenten veil there was raised, not divided, in the middle at the consecration.

[b] There is nothing in the Lent stuffs of the Inventory of 1540 (pp. 327 and 345) which I can identify except the "ij clothes for Peter and Paule: a gret clothe paynted for the crucifix over the highe awlter."

[c] Cf. *Vetusta Monumenta*, Lond. 1815, vol. iv. plate xviii. for the crucifix, SS. Peter and Paul from the Islip Roll in the library of our Society.

[d] The language here seems very precise, that the albs were of silk, with embroidered apparels. Was the long vestment itself of silk, and not of linen?

[e] See Paris vj. cap. ij. § 3 for the copes made of the cloths taken from the body of St. Edward.

angelis. Et in altera parte continet ymaginem beate marie cum sex apostolis et duobus angelis. ¶ Quarta cum paruris de aurifragijs aureis sine aliquo opere. ¶ Quinta continet arma regis anglie Francie et Comitis Warwichie in una parte contexta. Et in altera de consimili opere arma sancti Edwardi comitis lancastrie et sancti edmundi. ¶ Sexta septima octava et nona cum paruris viridibus contextis cum scutis de armis antiquis anglie de secta quarum una illarum habet in pectore ymaginem trinitatis contextam super rubrum samite cum quatuor ewangelistis. ¶ Decima de viridi samite contexta cum leopardis in bicirculis.[a] ¶ Undecima nigra in una parte contexta cum ymaginibus duodecim apostolorum in tabernaculis. Et in altera parte totidem apostoli consimilis operis nominibus eorum super capita descriptis cum stola et manipulo de secta aliqualiter unde in medio stoli (*sic*) et manipuli agnus dei cum duobus angelis auro sunt context'. ¶ Duodecima cum paruris nigris aurifragiatis continens in una parte historiam christi invitati ad nupcias cum aliis. Et in altera parte continet hystoriam nativitatis christi cum alijs. ¶ Terciadecima rubea contexta cum crucibus stellis et talentis. ¶ Quartadecima frecta cum aurifragijs tantum. ¶ Quintadecima cum crucibus rosis et nodis auro contextis. ¶ Sextadecima de blodio Samyt cum leonibus rapacibus in tabernaculis aureis. ¶ Septimadecima de samyt murrei coloris cum leopardis in bicirculis auro contextis. ¶ Octavadecima cum lunis avibus et rosis parvis contexta cum borduris et palis avibus leonibus griffonibus et alijs intertextis. ¶ Nonadecima [et vicesima cum paruris brudatis de historijs veteris testamenti de una secta].

De albis principalibus aureis auro contextis brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum ij.

Albe principales auree auro contexte brudate sunt septem cum stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum hystoria sancti Thome martyris ex utraque parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Secunda cum decollacione sancti Johannis baptiste in una parte et passione sancti Thome martyris in altera parte cum passionibus diversorum sanctorum cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Tercia cum passione domini in una parte. Et coronacione beate marie in altera parte

[a] In F. Fischbach's *Ornament of Textile Fabrics* (English Edition), there is a green fabric with two leopards, in double circles, facing each other with the Persian sacred tree between them (4, A.) The author refers the stuff to Antioch between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Charles de Linas gives a plate of a red stuff with two leopards in double circles, but not the same design. (*Anciens Vêtements Sacerdotaux*, Paris, 1860, against p. 17.) It is not an uncommon device.

consuta cum rosis albis de perillis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Quarta cum maiestate et ymaginibus petri et pauli ex una parte et Coronacione beate Marie et ymaginibus katerine et Margarete ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo fere de secta. ¶ Quinta cum salutacione beate Marie et ymagine beate anne et salutacione elizabeth ex una parte et oblacione trium magorum ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Sexta cum ymagine christi et sex apostolorum in una parte. Et ymagine beate Marie et sex apostolorum ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Septima cum cena domini et prodicione Jude cum alijs in una parte. Et nativitate christi et oblacione trium magorum cum alijs in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. t in incremento de novo una alba brudata habens ex utraque parte assumpcionem beate marie cum diversis ymaginibus et rubeis rosis intermixtis cum stola et manipulo eiusdem secte].

De albis principalibus aureis auro contextis brudatis [sine] *stolis et manipulis. Capitulum iij.*

Albe principales auree auro contexte brudate sunt sex sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum quinque capitibus in una parte. Et totidem cum circulis argenteis in altera parte contextis. ¶ Secunda cum Nativitate christi et salutacione beate marie cum alijs in una parte. Et coronacione beate marie et nece infantum cum alijs in altera parte. ¶ Tertia contexta cum rubio et viridi cerico cum rosis argenteis et ymaginibus christi petri et edwardi in una parte et ymaginibus beate marie katerine et margarete cum rosis argenteis intermixtis ex altera parte.[a] ¶ Quarta cum oblacione trium magorum cum alijs in una parte et nativitate christi cum alijs in alia parte in tabernaculis contextis. ¶ Quinta de opere indento diversi coloris et varijs bestijs desuper intextis. ¶ Sexta cum Agno dei bis contexto cum alijs in una parte et armis comitis de Wareyne cum alijs in altera parte.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis rubeis principalibus cum stolis et manipulis brudatis. Capitulum iv.

Albe Rubee principales auro brudate sunt octodecim cum stolis et manipulis quarum prima de samyt cum maiestate in circulo et duodecim apostolis in una parte in tabernaculis sedentibus. Et maiestate in circulo cum totidem apostolis in

[a] The original paragraph has been erased, and these words written in its place.

tabernaculis sedentibus in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta cum tintinabulis argenteis. ¶ Secunda cum ymagine sancte marie cum duodecim mensibus et alijs in circulis in una parte. Et ymagine crucifixi et duodecim signis et alijs in circulis in alia parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Tercia cum sancto Petro et quatuor regibus super Griffonibus sedentibus in una parte. Et sancto petro et totidem regibus. In altera parte super griffonibus sedentibus cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Quarta cum maiestate et sex apostolis stantibus in tabernaculis in una parte. Et ymagine beate marie Johannis baptiste sancti Edwardi et aliorum consimilis operis in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta ¶ Quinta cum maiestate et ymagine beate Johannis baptiste et katerine infra circulos albos de serico in una parte cum quatuor evangelistis. Et coronacione beate virginis et ymaginibus petri et pauli consimilis operis in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Sexta cum maiestate et ymaginibus Johannis et edwardi cum coronis auro contextis in una parte. Et ymaginibus beate Marie katerine et Margarete consimilis operis in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Septima cum archangelis auro textis stantibus in tabernaculis ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Octava cum maiestate et duodecim apostolis binis in tabernaculis sedentibus in una parte. Et cum quinque hystorijs de quibus fuga christi in egyptum est ultima in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. Nona de velvet cum maiestate et duobus angelis stellis et lunis intextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Decima de velvet cum maiestate per omnia priori consimilis excepta quod super capita ymaginum sunt capita leopardorum auro contexta cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Undecima de velvet cum duabus ymaginibus stantibus in medio cum duobus scutis videlicet Edwardi et edmundi in una parte et duabus ymaginibus stantibus in medio et duobus scutis videlicet istius ecclesie et domini N. L. abbatis ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Duodecima de velvet cum salutacione beate Marie et quatuor ymaginibus et parvo puero nudo in una parte et sex ymaginibus de quibus katerina et margareta sunt in medio ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo minime de secta.[a] ¶ Terciadecima cum maiestate et decem ymaginibus in tabernaculis nominibus eorum supra capita descriptis in una parte et maiestate cum totidem ymaginibus consimilis operis ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Quarta decima cum babwinis[b] pugnantibus et

[a] *i. e.* a bad match.

[b] *Anglice*, baboons. Bock notes the frequency with which beasts were made to fight each other in the Italian designs of the end of the fourteenth century. (*Geschichte der lit. Gew.* i. 67.)

floribus intermixtis ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Quintadecima cum ymagine christi stante in medio et ymaginibus petri et pauli cum lunis aureis et stellis argenteis intertextis in una parte et ymagine beate marie katerine et margarete consimilis operis in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Sextadecima cum ymagine christi duobus angelis Petro et paulo et lunis et stellis intertextis in una parte et ymagine beate Marie duobus angelis katerina et margareta lunis et stellis intertextis ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Septimadecima cum agno dei in medio leone griffone cervo et pantera infra circulos ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Octavadecima cum tribus viridibus circulis ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo].

De albis rubeis principalibus sine stolis et manipulis brudatis. Capitulum v.

Albe rube (*sic*) principales auro brudate sunt xxvij sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum sex ymaginibus in tabernaculis stantibus in utraque parte inter quos Petrus et Paulus sunt in medio consimilis operis. ¶ Secunda cum archangelis auro textis et pinctiolis aureis intermixtis. ¶ Tercia cum maiestate et decem apostolis ex una parte et ymagine beate marie cum totidem apostolis ex altera parte. ¶ Quarta cum oblacione magorum presentacione christi in templum assumpcione beate marie et coronacione eiusdem in una parte. Et Nativitas beate marie cum salutacione eiusdem et Nativitate Christi cum oblacione eiusdem in medio ex altera parte. ¶ Quinta contexta cum sex mensibus in una parte. Et cum totidem mensibus in altera parte consimilis operis. ¶ Sexta cum griffonibus et leonibus infra circulos ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Septima cum griffonibus tantum infra circulos contextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Octava admodum scakarij cum rosis lunis crucilectis et parvis talentis intertextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis ¶ Nona decima undecima et duodecima cum rosis lunis et talentis auro contextis de una secta. ¶ . . . . Terciadecima et quarta decima cum rosis lunis talentis et crucilectis auro contextis de una secta. ¶ Quintadecima sextadecima et septimadecima cum leonibus et griffonibus in parvis circulis cum lunis crucilectis et talentis intertextis de una secta. ¶ Octava decima cum falconibus aureis in circulis erectis ac capitibus leonum inter circulos

[n] Cf. in Inventory of 1540, p. 337 : "A nother albe haveyng wrought on the perles a egle a gryffen a holly lambe and a lyon with dyvers other beasts."

cum alijs folijs diversis aureis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Nonadecima cum duobus ymaginibus in stragulis super nigro brudatis in una parte. Et una ymagine ex altera parte consimilis operis. ¶ Vicesima cum lunis rosis pinctiolis et stragulis in utraque parte consimilis operis contexta. ¶ Vicesima prima cum leonibus griffonibus et hominibus pugnantibus in bicirculis ex utraque parte unius operis auro contexta. ¶ Vicesima secunda cum leonibus in circulis et rosis in minoribus circulis unius operis ex utraque parte contextis. ¶ Vicesima tercia cum bestijs deformibus in bicirculis cum sex aurifragijs ex utraque parte contextis consimilis operis. ¶ Vicesima quarta cum leonibus et griffonibus sagittas in corpore portantibus in circulis debili auro textis. ¶ Vicesima quinta cum maiestate in bicirculis et decem ymaginibus in tabernaculis stantibus in una parte. Et totidem ymaginibus eum maiestate consimilis operis in altera parte. ¶ Vicesima-sexta cum avibus et diversis bestijs floribus et aurifragijs ex utraque parte consimili opere contextis. ¶ Vicesima septima cum aurifragijs tantum ex utraque parte consimilis operis contextis.

[. . t in incremento de novo].

De albis Nigris principalibus brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum vj.

Albe nigre principales auro brudate sunt quinque cum stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum maiestate papis regibus et episcopis ex una parte. Et beata Maria Edwardo et Johanne laurentio et Katerina et duabus alijs virginibus ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Secunda cum Johanne baptista katerina et margareta et rosis rubijs quasi in vinea intertextis in utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Tercia quarta et quinta nove de sa[t]yn contexte cum floribus aureis cum una stola et duobus manipulis de secta ex dono symonis quondam Cardinalis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis nigris principalibus brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum vij.

Albe nigre principales auro brudate sunt xxiij. sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum archangelis stantibus in tabernaculis et pinctiolis aureis intertextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Secunda cum passione beate katerine martyris ex utraque parte intexta. ¶ Tercia cum maiestate et sex apostolis in una parte sedentibus. Et beata Maria cum sex virginibus lampades in manibus tenentibus

ex altera parte. ¶ Quarta cum leonibus rubijs aurea capita habentibus et columbis albis cum capidibus (*sic*) alis et pedibus aureis in quadrangulis existentibus.[a] ¶ Quinta cum Griffonibus leonibus crucibus et alijs bestijs in triffuratis.[b] ¶ Sexta cum leonibus griffonibus rosis crucibus et triffuris ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Septima cum agno dei in medio sagittarijs. Cervis et avibus in bicirculis ex utraque parte unius operis. ¶ Octava cum leonibus aquilis rosis et parvis talentis . . . . . ex utraque parte unius operis. ¶ Nona cum lunis et parvis talentis et frectis aureis ex utraque parte unius operis. ¶ Decima frecta cum lunis rosis crucilectis et parvis talentis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Terciadecima cum bestijs et crucibus in circulis rosis et alijs folijs extra circulos in utraque parte unius operis. ¶ Quartadecima cum rosis lunis stellis et talentis in utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Quintadecima cum diversis circulis bestijs in eis contentis unde in uno circulo in una parte continetur homo tenens pissem (*sic*) in manu.[c] ¶ Sextadecima de eadem secta except' quod in uno circulo ex una parte continetur ymago hominis sedentis et in circumferencia circuli describitur Osbertus Secristeyn. ¶ Septimadecima cum capitibus leopardorum coronatis et stellis. ¶ Octavadecima cum leonibus crucibus et ramis. ¶ Nonadecima cum cervis et ramis. ¶ Vicesima cum leonibus et ramis. ¶ Vicesima prima de samyt frecta cum aurifragijs. ¶ Vicesima secunda. Et vicesima tercia de samyt stragulata cum aurifragijs de una secta. + 8

[¶ Undecima cum lunis stellis et talentis in utraque parte consimilis operis. Duodecima frectata cum stellis et parvis talentis in utraque parte unius operis. + 8
. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus Murrei coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum viij.

Albe principales murrei coloris brudate sunt due cum stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum archangelis aureis in tabernaculis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Secunda cum maiestate et sex apostolis in cathedris sedentibus ex una parte et beata Maria cum sex virginibus lampades in manibus tenentibus ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo quasi de secta cum episcopis contextis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

[a] Cf. Fischbach, 100. A.

[b] Cf. Fischbach, 96. B.

[c] Was the man holding a fish, a fisherman bringing a tithe salmon to the sacrist, Osbert? For account of the tithe of salmon see Dart, *op. cit.* Book ii. chap. iv. p. 48, and Sporley and Flete's MSS.

De albis principalibus Murrei coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum ix.

Albe principales murrei coloris brudata est una cum leonibus aureis in circulis cum duobus scutis in medio sine stola et manipulo.

[t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus albi coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum x.

Albe principales albe coloris brudate sunt due quarum prima cum armis Ierosolyme et scutis petri et edwardi cum corvis cornubie in utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta.[a] ¶ Secunda cum armis Ierosolyme et duobus alijs scutis rubijs in una parte. Et armis antiquis anglie cum aliis duobus scutis edwardi et edmundi cum aliis parvis scutis in utraque parte intermixtis cum stola et manipulo de secta. . . t in incremento de novo

[una alba brudata cum ymagine beate marie et duobus apostolis ex una parte et Thoma apostolo et alijs duobus apostolis ex altera ex dono fratris Richardi Excetere.[b]]

De albis principalibus blodei coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum xj.

Albe principales blodij coloris brudate sunt cum stolis due[c] et manipulis

[a] This must have lasted till the Dissolution. "Oon albe with white parells of nedle worke haveynge the armys of Iherusalem of Seynt Peter and Paule and Seynte Edwarde on both sydes of lyke work with stoll and phanam." (Invent. 1540, p. 338.)

[b] The same with the following: "A nother albe with parells of whyte embrothered on the oon syd with the ymages of o[r] Lady and ij of the Apostells and on the other syd the ymages of Seynt Thomas thappostell with ij other apostells." (Invent. 1540, p. 338.)

[c] "Oon albe with parells of blew velvett the ymages of o[r] Lady Saynt Anne Saynt Katheryn Seynt Margarett with a vyne and lybards hedds on the oon syde and Seynt Peter Seynt Paule and Seynt Xpofer on the other syd with stoll and phanam to the same.

"a nother albe with parells of blewe velvet haveyng the coronacion of o[r] Lady Seynt Peter and Paule in tabernacles on the oon syd and y[e] salutacion of o[r] Lady Seynt John the Ewangelist and Seynt Edward in lyk wyse on the other syde with stoll and phanam." (Invent. 1540, p. 337.)

quarum prima de velvet cum ymaginibus Anne et filie sue katerine et margarete cum vinea circumtexta et capitibus leopardarum in una parte. Et ymaginibus Christofori Petri et Pauli ex alia parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta ex dono Symonis quondam cardinalis. ¶ Secunda de velvet cum coronacione beate Marie et ymaginibus Petri et Pauli in tabernaculis viridibus in una parte. Et salutacione beate Marie et ymaginibus Johannis et Edwardi ex altera parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta ex dono Nicholai lytlyngton abbatis.

[t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus blodij coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xij.

Albe principales blodij coloris brudate sunt septem sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima de samit cum hominibus super equos equitantibus admodum hastilidii ludentibus in bicirculis aureis consimilis operis in utraque parte. ¶ Secunda admodum vinee auree cum babewynis pugnantibus secures in manibus habentibus ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Tercia cum duobus griffonibus et alijs bestijs cum faciebus mulierum in manibus arcus habentibus[a] ex utraque parte in vinea impressis. ¶ Quarta cum griffonibus et floribus aureis in vinea impressis ex utraque unius operis. ¶ Quinta cum albis rosis capitibus leopardorum et floribus deliciarum aureis cum rubea bordura et viridi vinea desuper contexta ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Sexta de eadem secta excepta bordura que est alba cum viridi vinea et avibus desuper contextis. ¶ Septima contexta cum parvis leonibus et aquilis aureis ex utraque parte consimilis operis.

[. . t in incremento de novo una alba brudata cum ymagine Sancti Johannis Ewangeliste et duobus nodis de ihc in una parte et Jacobi apostoli[b] et nodis similibus ex altera ex dono fratris J. Stowe.][c]

[a] Bock gives a reproduction of a red stuff, showing monsters with women's heads (*Geschichte der liturg. Gewänder*, Bonn, 1859, Bd. I. Taf. vi. in Liefer. ii. See also p. 177) of which Dr. Rock gives a full description (*Textile Fabrics*, Lond. 1870, p. 157) as No. 8239 in the South Kensington collection.

[b] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 337: "A nother albe with parells of blew haveyng Saynt John the Ewangelist and Seynt Jamys on every syde."

[c] John Stowe was elected archdeacon in 1388.

De albis principalibus Glaucei coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xiij.

Albe principales Glaucei coloris brudate sunt novem sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum duodecim mensibus et alijs in circulis auro contextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Secunda tercia quarta quinta et sexta cum grifonibus et avibus aureis de una secta. ¶ Septima cum rubijs rosis in bicirculis ex utraque parte unius operis. ¶ Octava cum rosis rubiis et floribus in circulis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Nona cum rosis rubiis in circulis blodijs et aurifragijs intermixtis in utraque parte unius operis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus viridis coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xiiij.

Albe principales viridis coloris brudate sunt quinque cum stolis et manipulis. quarum prima cum scutis antiquis Anglie et Francie et Hyspannie cum duobus alijs in una parte. Et armis anglie warwychie et warennie cum alijs duobus ex altera parte et floribus deliciarum intermixtis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Secunda cum scutis anglie et alijs scutis cum crucibus de Hermyn [a] vineis aureis et rosis rubeis in vineis pendentibus cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Tercia cum quinque scutis in una parte. Et totidem in alia cum ramis aureis rosis rubijs et alijs intertextis. ¶ Quarta de velvet cum stellis auro et argento contextis et ramis aureis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Quinta de samyt cum rosis rubijs et stellis aureis rubio serico frectis cum nodis aureis cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis viridis coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xv.

Albe principales viridis coloris brudate sunt quinque sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum antiquis armis anglie Sancti Edwardi et sancti Edmundi in una parte. Et armis comitis warennye warwychie et Oxonie ex altera parte cum ramis aureis intertextis.[b] ¶ Secunda admodum vinee rosis et parvis avibus aureis

[a] These crosses of ermine are an heraldic charge.

[b] This also survived: "An other albe with parells haveyng on the oon syd the armys of England and Seynt Edmond and Seynt Edward and on the other syde the armys of Warwyke and Spencer, and of the Erle of Oxfford." (Invent. 1540, p. 337.) The arms of Spencer are not, however, those of Warren.

intertextis. ¶ Tercia cum griffonibus aureis in bicirculis rosis rubijs et parvis talentis aureis intertextis. ¶ Quarta cum leonibus et griffonibus aureis in circulis et rosis rubijs inter circulos contextis. ¶ Quinta cum vineis aureis et babewynis similiter pugnantibus in manibus secures habentibus.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus diversorum colorum brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xvj.

Albe principales diversorum colorum brudate sunt due cum stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum tribus leonibus rapacibus in una parte de quibus unus argenteus contextus in blodio et alij duo nigri contexti in argento. Et in alia parte cum duobus leonibus nigris rapacibus contextis in argento cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Secunda cum diversis armis videlicet Herfordie et alijs armis ignotis in quibus capita presbiterorum[a] sunt intexta stellis aureis et rosis argenteis intertextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus Sancti Dunstani non brudatis. Capitulum xvij.

Albe principales Sancti dunstani quibus in vita sua fuerat indutus non brudate sunt septem sine stolis et manipulis contexte de serico et vario opere aurifragiate quarum due sunt de una secta et quinque de opere diverso et quia sunt reliquie inter albas principales reputantur propter reverenciam dicti sancti.[b]

[a] Cf. Inventory, 1540 (p. 337): "A nother albe with grene perles haveyng theron a preests hed with divers pleynsong nottes"; (p. 338), "ij other albes . . . . haveyng on prests hedd."

The arms of Hereford were those of De Bohun: *Azure, a bend argent, cotised or, between six lioncels rampant gold.* This may partly explain the arms on the first set of albs in this chapter.

[b] "viij other albys with parells of bawdekyn and nedyll worke togeather of dyvers collors serveynge only for Saynte Dunstan's daye." (Invent. 1540, p. 338.)

Quinta Pars.

Quinta pars principalis de albis simplicioribus de diversis coloribus cum et sine stolis et manipulis.

De albis rubijs de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum j.

Albe rubee de panno aureo non brudate sunt decem quarum tres cum signis et floribus intertext' cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis de una secta. ¶ Quarta et quinta cum avibus ramos in rostris tenentibus et albis floribus intertextis cum una stola et duobus manipulis. Sexta septima octava nona et decima de panno aureo de luca[a] varij coloris stragulato et diversis litteris inscriptis cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis de una secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo tres albe cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis de nobili panno aureo de damask ex dono domini Thome ducis Glowcestrie.[b]]

De Albis rubijs de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum ij.

Albe rubee de panno rubeo non brudate sunt quinque sine stolis et manipulis quarum tres cum avibus et stragulis et in stragulis sunt bestiole auro texte sine stolis et manipulis. Et alie due cum pavonibus rotulas in rostris tenentibus sine stolis et manipulis.

[Et in incremento de novo sex de una secta cum bestijs cubantibus inter duos rotulos cum circulis blodeis rosis aureis intertextis. ¶ Item octo cum bestijs et avibus ramos in rostris tenentibus de una secta. ¶ Item novem cum leonibus et gruibus colla circa arbores volventibus de una secta. Item octo cum leonibus ramis et coronis aureis de una secta. ¶ Item sexdecem cum signis aureis ad modum rosarum contextis et diversis nodis intermixtis de una secta. ¶ Item]

De albis blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum iij.

Albe blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudate sunt tres cum archangelis aureis[c] contextis cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

[a] Cf. the frontal and ridells of this material (pars iij. capp. j and v.) given by Simon Langham as well as with the copes and other vestments (pars vj. cap. x.).

[b] See Appendix IV.

[c] Possibly for Michaelmas, as blue was the colour at Westminster for this feast. Cf. "a nother albe with parells of blew damaske garnysshed with angelles of gold and this ij letters R and C. of Dan Robert Callowys gyffte." (Inventory, 1540, p. 337.)

De Albis blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum iiij.

Albe blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudate sunt decem sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum bestijs aureis sub arboribus sedentibus et rotulas in ore tenentibus sine stolis et manipulis. ¶ Secunda et tercia cum griffonibus et alijs bestijs et cisternis aquam emittentibus pro episcopo sancti Nicholai. ¶ Quarta quinta sexta septima octava nona et decima de velvet cum stragulis aureis et sericis unde una cum lunis et stellis aureis intermixtis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis albi coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum v.

Alba est una de panno aureo non brudata cum arboribus maioribus et minoribus contextis cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis Albi coloris de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum vj.

Albe albi coloris de panno aureo non brudate sunt novem sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum avibus et floribus aureis contextis cum una bordura magna circumligata. ¶ Secunda et tercia de eadem secta sine bordura. ¶ Quarta cum bestijs floribus et ramis aureis contextis. ¶ Quinta cum floribus et avibus vario opere contextis. ¶ Sexta septima octava et nona de panno aureo de damask opere indentato contexte.

[. . t in incremento de novo una alba panni de ciprys cum falconibus aureis et floribus intermixtis. Item sex albe cum gruibus colla circa ramos volventibus et leonibus interpositis de una secta.]

De Albis Murrei coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum vij.

Albe Murrei coloris de panno aureo non brudate sunt quatuor de una secta cum frectis aureis et floribus intertextis cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis eiusdem secte.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis de panno Aureo non brudatis de armis Anglie et Francie cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum viij.

Albe de panno Aureo non brudate de armis anglie et Francie sunt tres cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis ex dono Marie comitisse de Penbrok.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis scutatis auro non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum ix.

Albe scutate auro non brudate cum diversis armis sunt tres cum stolis et manipulis de una secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis Scutatis auro non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum x.

Albe scutate cum diversis armis auro non brudate sunt duodecim sine stolis et manipulis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis rubijs auro non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xj.

Albe rubee auro non brudate sunt sex de dyaspyn cum pavonibus cum . . j stola . . . ij manipulis de una secta.[a]

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis rubijs auro non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis Capitum xij.

Albe rubee auro non brudate sunt duodecim sine stolis et manipulis quarum tres de rubio et viridi coloribus cum leopardis aureis in rubio contextis de una secta pro commemoratione apostolorum octo autem de alia secta cum gallis aureis et floribus aureis et argenteis intertextis una vero alia cum avibus capitibus et pedibus deauratis de panno vocato dyaspyn.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

[a] The numerals originally were ij and iij.

De Albis viridis coloris non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xiij.

Albe viridis coloris auro non brudate sunt septem cum armis anglie et hyspannye pro regina Alianora[a] assignatis quarum una cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis viridis coloris non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xiiij.

Albe viridis coloris non brudate sunt septem sine stolis et manipulis quarum sex de dyaspyn cum avibus et bestijs blodijs cum capitibus et pedibus aureis de una secta una vero alia alba cum ramis aureis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis albi coloris non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xv.

Albe Albi coloris non brudate sunt quinque quarum tres cum folijs viridibus admodum vinearum cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis de eadem secta. Due autem alie de dyaspyn cum avibus capitibus et pedibus deauratis cum una stola et duobus manipulis de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis murrei coloris non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xvj.

Albe Murrei coloris non brudate sunt septem de dyaspyn cum griffonibus avibus et floribus contextis sine stolis et manipulis de una secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

[a] Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I. Apparently in a set with these albs there are a green cope, a chasuble, and two tunicles, also with the arms of England and Spain, likewise said to be "assigned" for queen Eleanor (*Minus Registrum*, ca. vij.) and a pair of green cloths with the same arms (pars vij. ca. v.) for the same queen. Were these ornaments worn at her obits? Mr. W. H. St. John Hope (*Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1889, vol. ii. p. 256) has shown that, though black was the usual English colour for obits both in the rules and in practice, yet there are instances of green being used for obits; in one case, the green vestments were bequeathed for this purpose by a bishop. I have in my possession one or two rare liturgical books, printed in Italy, in which green is given as a permissible alternative to black in the office of the dead: "pluviale nigrum vel viride." (*Liber Sacerdotalis*, Venetiis, 1537, fo. 183, and *Liber Fam. Clericorum*, Venetiis, 1550, fo. 94 b.)

De Albis nigri coloris non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xvij.

Albe nigri coloris non brudate sunt tredecim de una secta cum una pala in medio parurarum de panno aureo blodij coloris cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis eiusdem secte.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De stolis et manipulis principalibus diversorum colorum. Capitulum xviij.

Stole principales sunt quinque cum totidem manipulis consutis sive contextis de serico. Item due stole de rubio samyt cum duobus manipulis quarum una contexta est cum aurifragijs cum manipulo de secta. Duo autem manipuli alij sine stolis de rubio samyt quorum unum contextum cum ymaginibus et alterum cum stellis. Vnum manipulum sine stola de nigro samyt auro contexto. ¶ Item due stole albi coloris cum tribus manipulis quarum una est de panno aureo cum duobus manipulis de secta. Et altera de bawedekyn cum manipulo de secta. ¶ Item due alie stole blodij coloris de dyaspyn cum tribus manipulis de eadem secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

Sexta Pars.

Sexta pars principalis de capis casulis et tunicis diversorum colorum principalibus et simplicioribus au[r]o brudatis et auro non brudatis.

De capis principalibus aureis brudatis sine casulis et tunicis. Capitulum j.

Cape Auree principales brudate sunt sex cum diversis hystorijs desuper contextis quasi de una secta sine casulis et tunicis.[a]

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De capis casulis et tunicis principalibus brudatis diversorum colorum de sectis. Capitulum ij.

Capa est una optima nigri coloris brudata cum griffonibus avibus et alijs bestijs aureis in bicirculis rosis et floribus aureis intertextis vocata Otewy.

[a] It may be noted that there were "v copys of nedyll worke one of them callede Seynte Peter's cope lynede with crymson satten, etc." in the Inventory of 1540, p. 313. For a note of the delivery of these five copes, St. Peter's, of angels, and the three Jesses into the king's hands, see *Archaeologia*, 1871. xliii. 246.

¶ Item una casula nigra cum lunis[a] crucibus et talentis cum uno aurifragio ex parte anteriori contexto laminis aureis lapidibus et perillis de quibus deficiunt quindecim lamina et quindecim perille. ¶ Item tres cape Sancti Edwardi in quibus fuerat sepultus[b] unde prima glaucei coloris cum talentis. ¶ Secunda rubea cum lunis. Tercia cum aquilis[c] de quibus due sunt cum aurifragijs novis ex dono fratris Johannis Somerton. ¶ Item una casula rubia de Samyt contexta cum leopardis aureis et aurifragijs latis cum ymaginibus Johannis et edwardi in viridi stantibus et stellis aureis intertextis. ¶ Item una casula de Samyt blodij coloris cum castellis et regibus vinea aurea circumducta. ¶ Item alia casula de Samyt viridis coloris brudata cum stellis et nodis cum aurifragijs rubiis crucifixo et regibus intertextis. ¶ Item alia casula Murrei coloris cum duabus tunicis contexte cum lunis stellis et rosis cum rubijs aurifragijs regibus intertextis. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de rubio samyt context' cum leopardis aureis.[+] ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de rubi (*sic*) Samyt brudato cum leopardis et castellis[d] unde aurifragia cape et casule de blodio Serico contexto in se continent cruces de perillis. ¶ Item una capa blodij coloris de Satyn contexta cum coronacione beate Marie Nativitate christi et salutacione beate virginis in parte posteriori in medio et alijs ymaginibus quasi in vinea contextis perillis consutis cum aurifragio aureo ymaginibus desuper contexto cum Caperone lapidibus et perillis ac duabus avibus de perillis operose contextis ex dono domini Symonis cardinalis. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de blodio velvet cum ymaginibus in vineis circumductis et capitibus leopardorum aureis perillis ornatis ex dono eiusdem Symonis. ¶ Item una casula rubia de Samyt cum tribus magnis leopardis[e] ex parte posteriori et duabus tunicis

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[a] This word is written over an erasure.

[b] Certain cloths, as well as the ring spoken of above (Pars j. cap. iv.) were taken from the body of St. Edward when he was enshrined in 1163. These three copes are made of these cloths; but in monastic Westminster copes can hardly be said to be "vestments for the holiest worship of the sanctuary." (E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, chap. xi. Oxford, 1877, 3rd. ed., vol. iij., p. 34.)

[c] The coronation pallium of the kings of England appears to have been woven with golden eagles down to the time of the destruction of the coronation *instrumenta* by the rebels in 1649. (*Liber regalis*, Roxburgh Club, 1870, p. 16. *Rutland Papers*, Camden Society, 1842, p. 18. Taylor, *Glory of Regality*, Lond. 1820, p. 79.)

[d] For the arms of England and Castile, the latter being *gules, a triple towered castle or.*

Cf. in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 331): "A cape of red taffeta a chezebelle ij tunycles with stolles and phanams garnyshed with castells and lyons of brodery work ffor the Apostelles consuetts." See also p. 330; see also last item in this chapter.

[e] The arms of England.

cum minoribus leopardis. ¶ Item una casula rubia de samyt cum ymagine sancti edwardi in parte posteriori cum leopardis nodis et rosis aureis pariter contextis cum duabus tunicis de Samyt diversi operis unde una cum diversis bestijs in bicirculis contextis quondam Willelmi conquestoris et altera contexta cum stellis. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de rubio Samyt cum aurifragijs ornatis. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de blodio velvet cum coronis aureis unde in posteriori parte cape ymago crucifixi Johannis et Marie et alia ymago beate virginis cum suo infantulo in medio sunt contexte ex dono Jacobi Palmere. Item una casula albi coloris contexta cum stellis aureis et crucifixo Maria et Johanne in viridi contextis in parte posteriori. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de nigro Satyn contexto cum floribus aureis cum albis ut supra ex dono domini Symonis Cardinalis. [¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de rubio samyt cum castellis et leopardis aureis intertextis[a] unde in tunicis sunt arma comitis cornubie. . . t in incremento de novo.]

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De Capis Rubijs principalibus auro brudatis. Capitulum iij.

Cape rubie principales auro brudate sunt due et triginta quarum octo et viginti sunt de rubio Samyt de quibus prima cum hystorijs Nativitatis et passionis domini in bicirculis rosis aureis inter circulos contextis. ¶ Secunda et tercia contexte cum hystoria Jesse.[b] ¶ Quarta cum castellis et floribus deliciarum[c] interfrectis. ¶ Quinta frectata cum aurifragijs tantum cum tintinabilis (*sic*) in fimbrijs. Sexta septima et octava cum historijs diversis infra circulos et rosis aureis contextis. ¶ Nona cum diversis hystorijs in quadrangulis[d] rosis et floribus intermixtis. ¶ Decima undecima duodecima terciadecima quartadecima quintadecima et sextadecima cum diversis ymaginibus in circulis rosis aureis intertextis quasi de una secta. ¶ Septimadecima cum hominibus equitantibus falcones in manibus tenentibus cum rosis aquilis et stellis intertextis.[e] ¶ Octavadecima nonadecima cum sagittarijs leonibus in gutture sagittatis sagittis et stellis intermixtis. ¶ Vicesima cum diversis hystorijs in quadrangulis et

[a] See above, pars vj. cap. ij. § 10.

[b] See above, the note to the vernacular directions at beginning of the inventory.

[c] Fleurs-de-lys and castles, the arms of France and Castile. Cf. No. 8592 in the South Kensington collection: "a piece of silk Damask; ground, red; pattern, the Castle of Castilé and fleur-de-lis, both in yellow. Spanish, thirteenth century." (Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, Lond. 1870. p. 225.)

[d] Quadrangulis, lozenges.

[e] See above, note to Pars iij. cap. xxij.

angelis intermixtis. ¶ Vicesima prima cum diversis hystorijs in circulis et angelis thurificantibus intermixtis. ¶ Vicesimasecunda cum leopardis infra circulos cum crucibus nodis et rosis intermixtis. Vicesimatercia cum leopardis nodis et rosis contextis. ¶ Vicesima quarta cum griffonibus infra circulos crucibus et capitibus leopardorum intertextis cum tintinabulis in fimbrijs. iste tres cape predicte sunt ex dono R. Berkyng abbatis. ¶ Vicesima quinta et vicesima sexta cum diversis historijs et leonibus infra circulos et leonibus intermixtis que per quendam (*sic*) pluviam sunt deteriorate. Vicesima septima simpliciter cum aurifragijs. ¶ Vicesimaoctava cum tribus magnis leopardis.[a] ¶ Vicesima nona de serico contexta cum hystoria Sancti Edwardi infra circulos. ¶ Tricesima de velvet cum leopardis aureis et fimbria de blodio velvet cum floribus deliciarum intertextis quondam domini Johannis de Eltham.[b] ¶ Tricesima prima de Camaca cum crucifixo Maria et Johanne in parte posteriori et ymaginibus Katerine et Margarete et angelis in nubibus ex dono domini Symonis Cardinalis. ¶ Tricesimasecunda de satyn cum coronis aureis et crucibus argenteis contexta et dono eiusdem Symonis.

De Capis principalibus blodij coloris auro brudatis. Capitulum iv.

Cape principalis blodij coloris auro brudate sunt quatuor quarum prima et secunda cum regibus et episcopis infra circulos sedentibus et angelis in manibus coronas tenentibus intertextis de una secta. ¶ Tercia cum regibus castellis et nodis intertextis. ¶ Quarta cum leopardis griffonibus et stellis inter nodos contextis.

[. . t in incremento de novo una capa de blodio velvet cum stellis aureis et ihc in medio descript'. Item una capa de blodio velvet cum literis M aureis de cygnis contextis[c] ambe ex dono domini W. Colchestre Abbatis.[d]

[a] The arms of England.

[b] The arms of John of Eltham on his effigy in Westminster Abbey consist of the three lions of England within a bordure charged with the fleurs de lys of France. The design of the cope is thus a mere reproduction of the former owner's arms.

[c] Cf. in Invent. of 1540 (p. 333): "[Sold] ij Copes of blewe velvett oon of them beynge garnysshed with brothered sterrys of gold the other with thys letter M crownyd of gold the orpheus of crymsyn velvett with bells of gold." Is the letter M the initial of Mary Bohun, wife of Henry of Bolingbroke, and are the swans the Bohun swans?

[d] William of Colchester was elected abbot in 1386, and was abbot at the time of the making of this inventory.

De capis principalibus viridis Coloris auro brudatis. Capitulum v.

Cape principales viridis coloris auro brudate sunt tres quarum prima cum armis antiquis anglie et nodis intertextis. ¶ Secunda cum armis antiquis comitis Cornubie et nodis intermixtis ambo ex dono R. berkyng albatis.[a] (*sic.*) ¶ Tercia cum regibus sedentibus et Castellis infra circulos et nodos intertextis.

De Capis principalibus quasi Murrei coloris auro brudatis. Capitulum vj.

Cape principales Murrei coloris auro brudate sunt tres quarum prima cum ymaginibus sedentibus infra circulos rosis et nodis intermixtis. ¶ Secunda cum griffonibus et floribus in vinea aurea contextis. ¶ Tercia cum Griffonibus et leonibus coronatis in quadrangulis floribus deliciarum aureis intermixtis.

De capis principalibus Glaucei coloris auro brudatis. Capitulum vij.

Capa principalis glaucei coloris aura brudata est una cum griffonibus et avibus aureis.

De Capis principalibus diversorum colorum auro brudatis. Capitulum viij.

Capa principalis diversorum colorum auro brudata de velvet videlicet Rubio et blodio est una cum novis armis anglie contexta pro parvulo episcopo sancti Nicholai assignata.

De Capis principalibus nigri coloris auro brudatis. Capitulum ix.

Capa principalis nigri coloris auro brudata est una cum aurifragijs frectatis tantum.

[a] In Chron. Johannis Flete (penes Dec. et Cap. Westmon.) we are told of Richard Berkyng in 1238: "predictus Abbas in capitulo coram toto conventu dedit ecclesie Westmonaster' duas capas virides brudatas unde una cum armis antiquis Anglie et nodis intermixtis quas emerat sumptibus suis propriis ad Dei laudem et ecclesie." Above he says: "Duas eciam cortinas sive dorsalia chori de historia Domini Salvatoris et beati Regis Edwardi sumptibus propriis et expensis fieri procuravit ac eidem ecclesie dedit et reliquit."

De Capis Casulis et tunicis simplicioribus diversorum Colorum de panno aureo non brudatis. Capitulum x.

Capa est una cum casula et duabus tunicis de panno aureo rubio cum avibus et stragulis et in stragulis sunt bestiole auro contexte cum albis de secta ut supra. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de panno rubio cum avibus ramos in rostris tenentibus et albis floribus intermixtis cum albis ut supra de secta ex dono Symonis Cardinalis. Item quinque cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis de panno rubio cum pavonibus rotulas in rostris tenentibus cum albis ut supra de secta. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de panno rubio cum signis et floribus intextis ex dono Nicholai abbatis cum albis ut supra de secta. ¶ Item quatuor cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis de panno aureo de luca varij coloris stragulat' et diversis literis inscript' cum albis frontello et frontilecto ut supra de secta.[a] ¶ Item decem cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis Murrei coloris cum frectis aureis et floribus intertextis cum albis ut supra de secta. ¶ [Item decem cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis murrei coloris cum frectis aureis et floribus intertextis cum albis ut supra.][b] ¶ Item una capa cum tribus casulis et duabus tunicis murrei coloris cum arboribus et avibus auro contextis de una secta. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis albi coloris cum signis aureis quasi in aqua natantibus de una secta. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis albi coloris cum floribus et avibus vario opere contextis de una secta cum una alba ut supra ex dono domini Symonis cardinalis. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis albi coloris cum arboribus et talentis aureis intextis cum una alba ut supra. ¶ Item duc cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis diversorum colorum cum armis anglie et francie aurifragiatis cum armis comitisse de Penbrok cum albis ut supra de secta ex dono Marie comitisse eiusdem. ¶ Item tres cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis blodij coloris cum archangelis aureis intextis cum albis ut supra de secta ex dono domini Edmundi comitis lancastrie. ¶ Item una capa cum casula et duabus tunicis nigri

[a] Cf. the frontal above (pars iij. cap. l. § ix.) given by Simon Langham and the albs (pars v. cap. j.) all of the same stuff. See also the ridells (pars iij. cap. v. § j.) In the Inventory of 1540 (p. 330) are "iiij copys a chezabull ij tunycles with v albys with oon stoll and iij phanams of bawdekyn haveyng in hit strypes of gold with Greke letters for Relyque Sonday." For the rest of this *Pars*, the reader may compare Fischbach, *passim*.

[b] The words within brackets have been struck through with a red line.

coloris cum avibus flores in rostris tenentibus et parvis cervis aureis infra circulos de floribus iacentibus.

[. . t in incremento de novo tres cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis rubei coloris de nobili panno aureo de damask cum aurifragijs de nigro velvet brudatis cum literis 𝔗. et 𝔄. et cygnis de perillis ex dono domini Thome Ducis Glowcestrie cum alba ut supra.][a]

[here two leaves with headings *Sexta Pars* but otherwise blank.]

De capis rubijs simplicioribus de panno aureo non brudatis. Capitulum xj.

Cape rubee simpliciores de panno aureo non brudate sine casulis et tunicis sunt octo et quadraginta quarum prima de panno de cypro[b] cum bestiolis aureis et blodijs foliis. ¶ Secunda cum bestijs transversis et ramis cum albis floribus intextis. ¶ Tercia quarta cum floribus et diversis nodis aureis vario opere contextis de secta. ¶ Quinta sexta et septima cum leonibus ligatis ad ramos aureos cathenis de secta. ¶ Octava nona decima undecima et duodecima cum bestijs iacentibus et de ore eorum ramis exeuntibus cum alijs floribus aureis blodio et albo in medio intertextis de secta. ¶ Terciadecima quartadecima quintadecima sextadecima septimadecima nonadecima cum avibus aureis quasi in quodam circulo volutis tenentibus coronas in rostris de una secta. ¶ Vicesima una vicesima secunda cum bestiolis aureis iacentibus rotulos in ore tenentibus unde in quibusdam de rotulis describitur **tenonus fort** de una secta. ¶ Vicesima tercia xxiiij. xxv. xxvj. xxvij. xxviij. cum floribus deliciarum et alijs floribus aureis intermixtis de una secta. ¶ Vicesima nona. xxx. xxxj. xxxij. xxxiij. xxxiiij. xxxv. xxxvj. xxxvij. xxxviij. xxxix. cum avibus maioribus infra ramos bestiolis desuper iacentibus avibus minoribus flosculis aureis et blodijs intertextis de una secta. ¶ Quadragesima xli. xlij. xliij. xliiij. cum arboribus aureis et rotulis aureis blodij[s] litteris intertextis de una secta. ¶ Quadragesimaquinta xlvj. xlvij. xlviij. cum signis colla circa ramos volventibus circulis in summitate ramorum contextis de una secta.

[a] See Appendix IV. Cf. in Inventory of 1540 (p. 329): "iij Copys a chezabull ij tunycles with iij albys with stolls and phanams of fyne bawdkyn, and the orpherys being of blewe velvett with swanys and thys letter "A" of perle of the gyfte of Sir Thomas of Woodstock for Corpus Xpi Day." Thomas of Woodstock married Eleanor Bohun; the "A" is no doubt the initial of Alianora, and the swans are the badge of Bohun.

[b] Here is evidence, if such were needed, that cyprus was not always black. See also cap. xij. *Et in incremento de novo.*

De capis simplicioribus albi coloris de panno aureo non brudatis. Capitulum xij.

Cape simpliciores albi de panno aureo non brudate sine casulis et tunicis sunt due et viginti quarum prima cum bestijs de quibus quedam habent caudas rubias quedam blodias quedam virides cum alijs bestijs et floribus intertextis vocate Arundel. ¶ Secunda et tercia cum avibus maioribus et minoribus bene formatis et alijs avibus deformibus cum diversis floribus intertextis de una secta. ¶ Quarta et quinta cum signis aureis maioribus extra circulos et minoribus infra circulos de una secta. ¶ Sexta cum bestijs deformibus binis infra quadrangulis coronis et piscibus aureis intertextis. ¶ Septima et octava cum avibus aureis et ramis contextis de secta. ¶ Nona et decima cum gruibus aureis super blodio stantibus ramos in rostris habentibus et alijs bestijs sub arboribus pascentibus de secta. ¶ Undecima duodecima et tertia decima cum diversis bestijs et rotulis rubijs aureis literis intertextis unde in quibusdam rotulis scribitur ic suy sus et in quibusdam tenifort de secta. ¶ Quartadecima quintadecima et sextadecima cum draconibus et floribus aureis et rosis blodijs in nodis contextis de secta [ex dono fratris Johannis Wrottinge].[a] Septimadecima et xviij. cum magnis draconibus et floribus de diversis coloribus de secta. ¶ Nonadecima xx. et xxj. de auro sellariorum[b] cum rosis et avibus deformibus et ramis diversis de secta. ¶ Vicesima secunda cum diversis rosis aureis infra circulos.

[. . t in incremento de novo una capa panni de cypris cum falconibus aureis et floribus intermixtis. Item tres cape cum falconibus volantibus et parvis leonibus sedentibus intermixtis. Item una capa cum ramis et bestijs atque capitibus leopardorum intermixtis. Item tres cape cum leopardis super ramos arborum stantibus de secta.]

De capis simplicioribus albi coloris de velvet non brudatis. Capitulum xiij.

Cape simpliciores albi coloris de velvet non brudate sunt due ex dono fratris Johannis Wrottynge.

[. . t in incremento de novo una capa non de velvet sed de baudekyn de damask brudate cum leopardis et floribus deliciarum intermixtis.

[a] In another hand.

[b] I have been unable to find out what may be the saddlers' gold of which copes can be made.

De capis simplicioribus blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis. Capitulum xiiij.

Cape simpliciores blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis sine casulis et tunicis sunt xliij quarum prima et secunda cum bestijs aureis sub arboribus sedentibus et rotulos in ore tenentibus de una secta. ¶ Tercia et quarta cum avibus et bestijs infra circulos floribus et rosis intertextis de secta. ¶ Quinta vj. vij. viij. ix. x. xj. cum arboribus et rotulis aureis blodijs litteris intertextis de secta. ¶ Duo decima et xiij. cum avibus sub ramis aureis stantibus rubium (*sic*) cum pinctiolis aureis in alis habentibus de secta. ¶ Quartadecima et xv. cum ramis aureis et parvis avibus intertextis de secta. ¶ Sextadecima et xvij cum leonibus cubantibus infra flores rubio et auro contextas et alijs diversis floribus intermixtis de secta. ¶ Octavadecima xix. xx. xxj. xxij. xxiij. cum leopardis flores admodum semicirculorum cum cathenis rubiis ad colla trahentibus de secta. ¶ Vicesima quarta xxv et xxvj cum faciebus mulierum[a] in medio stellarum contextis de secta. ¶ Vicesima septima xxviij. xxix. et xxx. cum bestijs cubantibus in ramis varij operis de treyfoyl de una secta. ¶ Tricesima prima et xxxij cum avibus ligatis per cathenas ad arbores rotulis in arboribus pendentibus de secta. ¶ [Tricesima tercia][b] et xxxiiij cum diversis floribus et rosis intextis varios flores ex se mittentibus de una secta. ¶ Tricesimaquinta et tricesima sexta cum avibus aureis rubia rostra et rubios pedes habentibus cum semicirculis super capitibus eorum de secta. ¶ Tricesima septima et xxxviij. ad modum skakarij auro contexta griffonibus et alijs bestijs infratextis de secta. ¶ Tricesimanona xl. xlj. et xlij. cum vulpibus aucas per collum infra circulos tenentibus de secta. ¶ Quadragesimatercia cum griffonibus et alijs bestijs et cisternis aquam emittentibus pro episcopo Sancti Nicholai assignata.

De capis simplicioribus nigri coloris de panno aureo non brudatis. Capitulum xv.

Cape simpliciores nigri coloris de panno aureo non brudate sine casulis et tunicis sunt quatuor cum avibus ramusculos in ore tenentibus et alio vario opere intertexto de una secta.

[a] See above, note to Pars iv. cap. xij. § 3.

[b] In another hand over an erasure.

De capis casulis et tunicis simplicioribus diversorum colorum de dyaspyus (sic). *Capitulum xvj.*

Cape rubie sunt tres cum una casula et duabus tunicis de dyaspyn cum avibus et bestijs capitibus et pedibus aureis de una secta.[a] Item una [casula rubia cum duabus tunicis avibus et bestijs aureis][b] et floribus albis intertextis de secta. ¶ Item una casula rubia cum tribus tunicis avibus et bestijs viridibus cum capitibus et pedibus aureis.[c] ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis viridis coloris cum avibus et bestijs rubijs capitibus et pedibus aureis cum xj . . . . capis dyaspynys quasi de una secta. ¶ Item due cape blodij coloris cum floribus et avibus viridibus pavonibus et bestijs aureis et rubijs intertextis de secta. ¶ Item due cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis blodij coloris de dyaspyn cum avibus et bestijs captibus (*sic*) et pedibus aureis. ¶ Item due tunice albi coloris de dyaspyn cum avibus capitibus eorum aureis cum quinque capis cum bestijs et avibus diversi operis quasi de una secta. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis viridis coloris cum ramis et floribus aureis.

De Capis Casulis et Tunicis simplicioribus diversorum colorum de Serico et Samyt sine aliquo opere aureo. Capitulum xvij.

Casula est una de rubio samit sine aliquo opere aureo cum nigro aurifragio in parte posteriori ad modum vince super nigro contexte cum duabus tunicis quasi de secta. ¶ Item una casula rubia de Sarcinet cum duabus tunicis de rubio samyt. Item due tunice de rubio samyt sine casula de secta. ¶ Item due tunice partite de rubio samyt et viridi sine casula de secta. ¶ Item xxix. cape de rubio Samyt ex dono domini Regis henrici tercij quarum novem sunt ex parte deteriorate iuxta aurifragia. ¶ Item casula murrei coloris de samyt cum uno magno aurifragio in parte posteriori ad modum vince contexte et in parte anteriori cum duobus angelis aureis circa pectus. . . . . cum duabus tunicis de tawny samyt eidem casule assignatis quarum prima cum manicis latis[d] et altera cum stragulis aureis et

[a] See note to Pars j. cap. viij.

[b] The words in brackets are written over an erasure.

[c] Cf. Fischbach, 21.

[d] This pair of tunicles was very likely pontifical. Cf. the rules for the revesting of the abbot at the beginning of the inventory: "the dalmatic with the longest sleeves uppermost." It may also be noted that the tunicles are of tawny colour while the chasuble is murrey. In a copy of Fra Angelico's fresco in the chapel of Nicholas V. in the Vatican of the ordination of St. Laurence, exhibited in the Arundel Society's rooms, the sleeves of the tunicle are tight on the arm, while those of the dalmatic are loose. In other representations the sleeves of the tunicle may be seen to come nearly to the wrist, and conceal great part of the alb.

blodijs. ¶ Item tres casule de samyt murrei coloris cum novem capis eiusdem secte quarum quatuor sunt debiles. ¶ Item una capa cum una casula et duabus tunicis de serico murrei coloris context' cum rubijs floribus. ¶ Item una capa cum una casula albi coloris de Serico sine tunicis de secta cum avibus infra circulos contextis. ¶ Item due cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis albi coloris de serico cum folijs viridibus ad modum vinee desuper contextis cum albis ut supra de secta ex dono domini Edwardi tercij. ¶ Item undecim cape albi coloris de serico quarum due de Samyt et novem de Camaka. ¶ Item una capa cum una casula et duabus tunicis viridis coloris de serico de quibus tunice differunt in serico ex parte. ¶ Item septem cape viridis coloris de samyt de una secta. ¶ Item una casula optima blodij coloris de samyt sine tunicis. ¶ Item una casula aliqualiter blodij coloris de samyt. ¶ Item octo cape blodij coloris de Samyt quarum tres sunt debiles. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis glaucei coloris de Samyt quasi de una secta. ¶ Item octo cape de samyt eiusdem secte [a] ¶ Item una casula nigri coloris de serico cum duabus tunicis de secta cum albis ut supra. Item una capa nigri coloris cum . . . ij. casulis sancti dunstani quasi de una secta.[b] ¶ Item due cape nigri coloris sancti dunstani. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis stragulate quasi de una secta pro commemoratione sancti Edwardi.[c] ¶ Item una tunica stragulata per se de pluribus coloribus pro lectione ad collationem tempore mandati in die cene domini.[d] ¶ Item due tunice cum parvis stragulis de albo et nigro de una secta sine casula.

[Item una casula cum duabus tunicis blodii coloris de samit de una secta.]

[a] Entry omitted. See last item.

[b] "Planeta qua ipse pater Dunstanus inter missas frequenter usus fuerat in abbatia beati Petri quae in occidentali parte Lundoniae sita est, absque ullo auri apparatu existens habebatur." (Miracula Sancti Dunstani, auctore Eadmero in W. Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, Rolls Series, 1874, p. 246.)

[c] See above note to the vernacular directions at the beginning of the Inventory.

[d] Cf. "ij other tunycles of dyvers collors oon to hallowe the Pascall and the other for hym that beryth the Dragon on Easter Evyn." (Inventory of 1540, p. 332.) According to Westminster use (see Lytlyngton's mass-book in the Chapter library) *Finito ymno* [*i.e. Inventor rutili*] *imponat cantor antiphonam:* Sicut exaltatus est serpens in heremo ita exaltari oportet in cruce filium hominis. *Expleta antiphona incipiat hanc prefacionem ad cereum benedicendum.* Exultet iam, etc. (See also my note on Leo and Draco, in *Notes and Queries*, Oct. 15, 1887, p. 316.)

Septima Pars.

Septima pars principalis de alijs rebus superinventis generaliter vestibulo deputatis.

De tapetis. Capitulum j.

Tapeta sunt sex murrei coloris contexta cum novis armis Regis anglie et armis . . .[a] Comitis hanonie ex dono Regis Edwardi tercii. ¶ Item quatuor sunt tapeta albi coloris contexta cum scutis habentibus tres flores deliciarum rubios in circulis. ¶ Item quatuor tapeta de armis comitis de Penbrok ex dono Marie comitisse eiusdem. ¶ Item quatuor tapeta rubij coloris contexta cum scutis albis habentibus tres flores deliciarum rubios ex dono Ricardi Twyford.[b] ¶ Item quinque tapeta rubia contexta cum leopardis glaucis. ¶ Item octo tapeta crocei coloris ex quibus quatuor sunt contexta cum novis armis anglie et armis domini Johannis de Eltham et alia quatuor sine armis. ¶ Item quinque tapeta nigra habentia in angulis scuta de armis Petri et Edwardi ex dono Ricardi Honyngtoñ. ¶ Item novem tapeta tawney coloris ex dono Nicholai lytlyngton abbatis. ¶ Item unum bancale vocatum pass' longitudinis ab hostio vestibuli[c] usque ad magnum altare.[d] ¶ Item duo tapeta parva de diversis coloribus cum diversis scutis context' ex dono N. L. Abbatis.

[. t in incremento de novo septemdecem tapeta palata[e] de albo et de blodio cum rosis albis et rubiis intextis atque rubia bordura cum rosario currente pro ornatu chori ex dono fratris Radulphi Tonworth.]

De Quissinis. Capitulum ij.

Quissina rubia sunt sexdecim quorum octo sunt de Camaka de quibus duo sunt longa et octo de satyn circumligata cum nigro serico [a red cross]. ¶ Item 8 quatuor subrubia de Camaka. ¶ Item sex quissina de viridi camaca. ¶ Item

[a] "Et" has been erased here.

[b] These appear to be the arms of a branch of the family of Holt of Twyford.

[c] The *vestibulum* is in the south transept.

[d] In the Inventory of 1540 (p. 348) there is: "The Rollyd Palye otherwyse called the Passe servyng for the Abbott to go to the aulter apon."

[e] *Palata*, that is striped, here with white and blue.

quinque quissina crocei coloris de singulo samyt. ¶ Item tria quissina de bawedekyn cum avibus. Item duo quissina cum armis comitis de Penbrok. Item unum quissinum viridis coloris. ¶ Item unum quissinum glaucei coloris. Item unum quissinum rubij coloris cum duabus ymaginibus sancti Petri ex utraque parte. ¶ Item unum quissinum de veridi (*sic*) velvet cum aquila aurea in medio. ✠ [a red cross.] Item octo quissina de blodio bawdekyn ex dono N. L. abbatis. Item quatuor quissina de tawney bawdekyn ex dono eiusdem.

De Pectoralibus Caparum. Capitulum iij.

Pectoralia caparum sunt sex de quibus duo argentea et deaurata unde unum continet assumpcionem beate virginis et ymagines apostolorum Petri et Pauli cum alijs ornatis diversis lapidibus et perillis. Alterum vero continet ymaginem beate virginis cum suo infantulo et alias duas ymagines in medio ornatas triffuris et lapidibus diversis. ¶ Quatuor autem alia sunt de cupro deaurato unde primum continet ymaginem divine maiestatis cum Ewangeliis (*sic*) et diversis lapidibus ornat'. ¶ Secundum vero amelatum cum diversis ymaginibus continet autem in medio ymaginem beate virginis et diversis lapidibus ornat' ex quibus plures deficiunt. Duo vero alia embossata et magnis lapidibus ornata.

De Pannis aureis diversorum colorum et Lectis. Capitulum iv.

Panni aurei sunt septemdecem unde in primis duo panni aurei nigri coloris cum draconibus de secta. ¶ Item tres panni aurei nigri coloris cum avibus et parvis rosis et alio diverso opere de una secta. ¶ Item unus pannus aureus cum binis literis ꝑ interfrectis. Item duo panni aurei nigri coloris quorum unus integer et alius dimidius cum cuniculis in folijs. ¶ Item duo panni aurei rubei coloris cum stragulis aureis et draconibus aureis intermixtis. ¶ Item duo panni aurei rubij coloris cum draconibus et leonibus aureis parvi valoris. ¶ Item duo panni aurei blodij coloris cum pavonibus aureis et rubiis folijs admodum vinee invicem consut'. ¶ Item unus pannus aureus blodij coloris cum bestijs aureis et hidrijs rubijs de serico contextis. ¶ Item unus lectus[a] cum bordura cum armis Regis Scocie. ¶ Alius vero lectus rubij coloris cum magnis circulis et magnis leonibus binis infra circulos. ¶ Item duo panni aurei rubij coloris cum avibus aureis et ramis argenteis invicem consuti. Et in [incremento de novo

[a] Here *lectus* may mean the cloth with which the hearse was covered. In the Inventory of 1540, p. 314, cf. "a greate cover of bedde called a sepulcher clothe."

unus pannus aureus nigri coloris cum bestijs et avibus infra flores et volucribus exterius cum rotulis intermixtis. ¶ Item alius pannus aureus nigri coloris cum diversis nodis et floribus rosis rubeis intermixtis.]

De pannis Sericis diversorum colorum auro non textis. Capitulum v.

Pannus est unus de Serico diversorum colorum cum arboribus rubijs et picis in ramis sedentibus. ¶ Item alius pannus Sericus diversorum colorum cum diversis stragulis. ¶ Item duo panni Serici viridis coloris similiter consuti cum armis anglie hyspannie et regina (*sic*) Alianore.[a] ¶ Item [unus magnus pannus][b] sericus cum bestijs quibusdam infra circulos et quibusdam extra. Item alius pannus de diversis coloribus stragulat' vocat' kanope ad coperiendum (*sic*) Cawagium[c] Regis iuxta magnum altare.

De Zonis. Capitulum vj.

Zone Serice sunt septem diversi operis et diversorum colorum.

De duabis (sic) *novis Cistis et omnibus in eis contentis ex dono Fratris Radulphi Tonworthe. Capitulum vij.*

Nove ciste sunt due cum ornamentis ecclesie in eis contentis ex dono fratris Radulphi Tonneworthe Monachi videlicet unum frontellum cum uno frontilecto togello consutum[d] et duobus ridellis de panno albi coloris vocato tartaryn cum stragulis aureis de una secta. ¶ Item tres albe due stole et tres manipuli una casula unus casus corporalis cum corporali eiusdem secte. ¶ Item una alba de albo panno vocato tartaryn sine stragulis ceroferario assignata. Casula vero predicta cum omnibus antedictis est assignata per prefatum R. T. misse capitali

[a] See below, *Minus Registrum*, cap. vij.

[b] The words between brackets are written over an erasure.

[c] Our Director, Mr. H. S. Milman, suggests that *cawagium* may be the same as *cafagium*, a word to which I find the Benedictines on Du Cange give the same meaning as a cage or pound (cf. German, *Käfig*) and this would not be far from the signification of a royal pew. One of the meanings of cage given in Murray's *New English Dictionary* is an elevated stage or seat. In 1400, *Cov. Myst.* "Heyl, be thou kynge in kage full hye." Mr. Micklethwaite tells me that at the time of the making of this inventory there would have been a place for a royal pew where the tomb of Anne of Cleves now stands.

[d] See above, Pars iij. cap. ij. *de frontilectis.*

dominicis diebus in adventu domini et in quadragesima[a] quando de dominica agitur. ¶ Item novem albe duo stole cum tribus manipulis de panno albi coloris vocato bawdekyn de una secta quarum una alba continet in se cum stola et manipulo lx . stellas argenteas et deauratas in dicta alba[b] stolo (*sic*) et manipulo consutas. ¶ Item una capa tres casule de eadem secta per eundem R. T. magne misse assignate dictis diebus dominicis quando de dominica agitur.[c] ¶ Item unus casus corporalis cum corporali de panno albo aureo ad eandem missam assignatus. ¶ Item unus casus de panno rubio aureo cum duobus sudarijs[d] de panno albo vocato tartaryn pro oblacione facienda et pro patena tenenda per predictum R. T. ad utramque missam assignatus. ¶ Item tredecim zone de twyn cum omnibus supradictis in prima cista contente. ¶ In secunda vero cista quatuor sunt tapeta albi coloris cum rosis rubijs contextis dictis temporibus assignat' per prefatum Radulphum Tonworthe.

Contra Tabula.

A.

Acerra. Secunda parte cap° iiij^to^.

Almicia. Prima prima (*sic*) parte c° v°.

Albe Principales. Quarta parte per totum.

Albe Brudate. Quarta parte per totum et albe de serico brudate iiij^ta^ parte ca° j° eciam albe auree brudate iiij parte c° ij° et iij° eciam albe rubie brudate iiij parte c° iiij° et v^to^ eciam albe nigre brudate iiij parte c° vj° et vij° eciam albe murree brudate c° viij° et ix° eciam albe de albo brudate iiij parte c° x° eciam

[a] The custumary of abbot Ware gives white for Advent, but black for Lent, so that the appearance of white for the Sundays in Lent shows some departure from the customs of abbot Ware's time.

[b] Among the Lent stuffs at the dissolution was "Oon albe garnysshed with xxxij sterrys and ij halfe sterrys of sylver and gylte for the Highe Masse with stolle and phanam without sterrys." (Invent. 1540, p. 345.)

[c] White was to be used at the high mass as well as the *missa capitalis* on Sundays in Lent and Advent.

[d] Cf. amongst the Lent stuffs of the Dissolution: "iij chezabulls of whyte one sute and a cope. Oon corporas case with corporaces. ij white sydaryes." (Invent. 1540, p. 345.) The use of sudaries is given above in the text. I do not know what to say of the editor's definition of them as "old cloaths to cover saints in Lent," which he gives in a note.

albe blodie brudate iiij parte c° xj et xij° eciam albe Glauce brudate iiij parte c° xiij. eciam albe virides brudate iiij parte c° xiiij et xv° eciam albe brudate diversorum colorum iiij parte ca° xvj°.

¶ *Albe Dunstani.* Quarta parte cap° xvij°.

¶ *Albe simpliciores.* Albe de armis anglie et Francie v. parte ca° viij. eciam albe scutate v. parte c° ix° et x°. Etiam albe rubie v. parte c° p° et ij° xj° et xij°. Eciam albe blodie v. parte c° iij° et iiij°. Eciam albe de albo v. parte c° v° vj° xv° et vij^a^ parte c° vij°. Eciam albe murree v° parte c° vij^a^ et xvj°. Eciam albe virides v^a^ parte c° xiij° et xiiij°. Eciam albe nigre v^a^ parte c° xvij°.

¶ *Ampulla.* Tercia parte c° xij.

¶ *Anulus.* Prima parte cap° iiij°.

B.

Baculus Pastoralis. Prima parte capitulo ij°.

Brudate albe. Quarta parte per totum eciam brudate albe de serico iiij° parte c° primo. Eciam brudate albe de auro iiij° parte c° ij et iij°. Eciam brudate albe rubie iiij parte c° iiij° et quinto. Eciam brudate albe nigre iiij parte c° vj et vij°. Eciam brudate albe murree iiij parte c° viij°. Eciam brudate albe de albo iiij parte c° x°. Eciam brudate albe de blodio iiij parte c° xj° et xij°. Eciam brudate albe glaucee iiij parte c° xiiij. Eciam brudate albe virides iiij° parte c° xiiij et xv°. Eciam brudate albe diversorum colorum iiij° parte c° xvj°.

Brudate cape. Brudate cape auree vj° parte c° primo. Eciam brudate cape diversorum colorum de sectis vj° parte c° ij° et viij°. Eciam brudate cape rubie vj° parte c° iij°. Eciam brudate cape blodie vj° parte c° iiij°. Eciam brudate cape virides vj° parte c° v°. Eciam brudate cape murree vj^a^ parte c° vj^ta^°. Eciam brudate cape Glauce vj^a^ parte c° vij°. Eciam brudate cape nigre vj^a^ parte c° ix°.

C.

Calix. Tercia parte capitulo vj°.

Calefactoria. Tercia parte c° xiiij°.

Candelabrum. Secunda parte c° vj°.

Cape brudate. Cape auree brudate vj° parte c° primo eciam Cape brudate diversorum colorum de sectis vj° parte c° ij° et viij°. Eciam cape rubie brudate vj parte c° iij°. Eciam cape blodie brudate vj° parte c° iiij°. Eciam cape virides

brudate vj^{a} parte c^{o} v^{o}. Eciam cape murree brudate vj^{a} parte c^{o} vj^{o}. Eciam cape glaucee brudate vj^{a} parte c^{o} vij^{a}. Eciam cape nigre brudate vj parte c^{o} ix^{o}.

Cape simpliciores. Cape simpliciores diversorum colorum de panno aureo vj^{a} parte c^{o} x^{o}. Eciam cape rubie de panno aureo vj^{a} parte c^{o} xj^{o}. Eciam cape albe de panno aureo vj^{a} parte c^{o} xij^{o}. Eciam cape albe de velvet vj^{a} parte c^{o} xiij^{o}. Eciam cape blodie de panno aureo vj^{a} parte c^{o} xiiij. Eciam cape nigre de panno aureo vj^{a} parte c^{o} xv^{o}. Eciam cape de dyaspins diversorum colorum vj. parte c^{o} xvj^{o}. Eciam cape de Serico et de Samyt diversorum colorum vj^{o}. parte c^{o} xvij. Eciam una capa alba de albo vij^{a} parte c^{o} vij^{o}.

Casula. Sexta parte c^{o} ij^{o} x^{o} xvj^{o} et xvij^{o}. Eciam vij^{a} parte c^{o} vij^{o}.

Cathedra. Tercia parte c^{o} xxij^{o}.

Cervical. Tercia parte c^{o} xx^{o}.

Cista. Septima parte c^{o} vij^{o}.

Corporalia. Tercia parte c^{o} vij et vij^{a} parte c^{o} vij^{o}.

Custos. Tercia parte c^{o} iiij^{o}.

Crux. Secunda parte ca^{o} primo.

Ceroteca. Prima parte c^{o} iij^{o}.

D.

Dalmatica. Prima parte ca^{o} viij.

Diaspyns. Prima parte ca^{o} viij eciam tercia parte cap^{o} xxij. Eciam quinta parte ca^{o} xj^{o} xij^{o} xiiij^{o} xv^{o} xvj^{o} et xviij^{o}. Eciam sexta parte ca^{o} xvj^{o}.

Dunstanus. Quarta parte c^{o} xvij^{o}.

E.

E

F.

Frontellum. Tercia parte ca^{o} primo eciam vij^{a} parte capitulo vij^{o}.

Frontilectum. Tercia parte ca^{o} ij^{o} et vij^{a} parte capitulo septimo.

G.

G

H.

Hastile. Secunda parte capitulo primo.

I.

I

K.

[*K* erased]

L.

Liber. Tercia parte capitulo viij°.
Lectus. Septima parte ca° iiij.

M.

Manipulus. Quarta parte quasi per totum. Eciam quinta parte quasi per totum sed specialiter quinta parte c° xviij° et vij^{a} parte c° vij°.
Manutergium. Tercia parte c° xviij.
Missalia. Tercia parte c° viij.
Mitra. Prima parte c° primo.
Muscaria. Tercia parte c° xv.°

O.

P.

Palla. Tercia parte ca° iij°.
Pannus. Tercia parte c° xxij et xxiij. Eciam vij parte ca° iiij et v^{to}
Pelves. Tercia parte c° xj°.
Pecten. Tercia parte c° xvij°.
Pectoralia. Pectoralia caparum vij^{a} parte capitulo tercio.
Pixis. Tercia parte ca° xiij°.

Q.

Quissinum. Septima parte ca° ij°.

R.

Ridellum. Tercia parte ca° v° Eciam vij^{a} parte c° vij°. Eciam iij^{a} parte c° primo.
Rochettum. Prima parte ca° vj°.

S.

Sandalia. Prima parte ca° ix°.

Sericum. Quasi per totum sed specialiter quarta parte capitulo primo et vij^{a} parte c° v^{to} et vj°.

Situla. Secunda parte ca° v°.

Sotular. Prima parte ca° ix°.

Sudarium. Tercia parte c° xix°. Eciam septima parte cap° vij°.

Superaltaria. Tercia parte c° xvj°.

Superpellicia. Prima parte c° vij°.

Stola. Quarta parte quasi per totum. Eciam v^{a} parte quasi per totum sed specialiter v^{a} parte c° xviij° et vij^{a} parte c° vij°.

T.

Tabula. Tercia parte c° x° et c° xxj.

Tapetum. Septima pars c° j° et c° vij.

Textus. Tercia parte c° ix°.

Tintinabulum. Secunda parte c° ij°.

Tunica. Sexta parte c° ij° x° xvj° et xvij°.

Turribulum. Secunda parte c° iij°.

V.

Velum. Tercia parte c° xxiij°.

Velvet. Tercia parte c° j° ij° iij° et xx°. Eciam iiij^{a} parte c° iiij° xj° et xiiij°. Eciam quinta parte c° iiij°. Eciam sexta parte c° ij° iij. viij° et xiij°.

Vexillum. Secunda parte c° ij°.

Ursiolus. Tercia parte c° xij°.

Y.

Z.

Zone. Zone de Serico vij^{a} parte ca° vj°. Eciam zone de twyn vij^{a} parte ca° vij°.

Explicit Magnum Registrum de rebus vestibuli compositum per fratres istius monasterij Suple per Fratrem Ricardum Cirencestre Willelmum Sudbery Johannem Breynte Radulphum Tonworthe A° domini M° CCC° lxxxviij° ultimo die mensis Junij.

Incipit minus registrum de rebus mediocribus et simplicioribus relictis in vestibulo que in magno registro dicti vestibuli nullatenus continentur et istud registrum pro maiore facilitate per decem capitula est divisum.

De mitris baculis pastoralibus serotecis anulis et sandalibus. Capitulum j.

Mitre sunt ~~quinque~~ [quarum prima pro festo sancti Nicholai ad parvum pontificem deputata cum platis argenteis et deauratis unde in circumferencia et labella plura deficiunt].[a] ¶ Secunda alba aurifragiata cum rosis et stellis desuper intextis. ¶ Tercia alba et aurifragiata tantum. ¶ ~~Quarta et quinta de fustian sine ornamentis~~. Baculi quoque pastorales sunt duo quorum unus de cupro deaurato continens in curvitate ex utraque parte ymaginem ecclesie sancte et sinagoge alter eburneus continens in curvitate agnum dei. Paria vero serotecarum sunt quinque quorum unum par deputatum pro parvulo episcopo sancti Nicholai reliqne vero serotece veterissime sunt et parvissime valoris. Anuli autem sunt duo quorum unus argenteus et deauratus habens septem lapides quorum unus rubeus duo blodij duo crocei et duo virides. alter vero cupreus deauratus habens unum rubium lapidem per se deputatus pro episcopo sancti Nicholai. Sandalium quidem est unum par vetus de panno viridi cum floribus parvi valoris.

De crucibus turribulis Acerris Candelabris Situlis et campanis. Capitulum ij.

Cruces sunt . . . ij quarum prima eburnea continens in se ymaginem eburneam et ymagines Marie et Iohannis eburneas. ¶ Secunda lignea argentea et deaurata laminata continens in se ymaginem crucifixi. ¶ ~~Tercia et quarta de cupro quarum prima consistit in manu ymaginis sancti Petri ad magnum altare altera vero remanet in vestibulo confracta. Turribula quidam sunt duo Sancti dunstani cupra deaurata operis antiqui~~. Acerra vero est una cupra parvi valoris. Candelabra autem sunt ~~xiij quorum~~ iiij de latyn et de una secta ~~et iij cupra deaurata operis antiqui quorum unum est confractum et vj alia minora parvi valoris~~. ¶ Situle quippe. sunt due pro aqua benedicta defferenda quarum una cupra amelata cum ymaginibus. Altera vero magna de latyn Campane autem sunt due vocate campane sancti Dunstani.[b]

[a] The words in brackets have been struck through with a red line.

[b] These were found at the Dissolution and sold. "[Sold] ij bellys callyd Saynt Dunstanys bells." (Invent. 1540, p. 344.)

De Frontellis Frontilectis Pallis et Capella portatili. Capitulum iij.

Frontella quidem sunt quatuor quorum primum est de rubio panno aureo cum gallis et arboribus. Secundum vero est de panno blodio cum stellis. ¶ Tercium autem vetus est de panno rubio argenteo deaurato cum avibus et frectis diversis in custodia vestiarij. ¶ Quartum frontellum cum frontilecto et Rerdos eiusdem secte de rubio panno aureo pro aliquo parvo altari ex dono Nicholai L. abbatis. ¶ Frontilecta sunt tria quorum duo frontellis superioribus eiusdem secte sunt consuta. ¶ Tercium palle consutum pro magno altari nimis brevis. ¶ Palle vero sunt due nimis breves pro magno altari sed forte altero commoda ex dono N. L. abbatis. Capella autem portatilis est una cum ornatu videlicet cum .j.cas. continente unum calicem deauratum duas phialas unum pixidem unam campanam unam tabulam pro pace danda argentea et deaurata unum superaltare de Alabastro unum Rerdos unum Frontellum cum frontilecto due Redelle una alba cum stola et manipulo una zona una casula et unum cas cum corporali de blodio panno de tartaryn stragulato de una secta cum duabus togellis sine pallis de dono N. L. abbatis et unum parvum missale cum duabus clapsis (*sic*) argenteis ex dono eiusdem.

De Sudarijs Cervicalibus Tabulis plicabilibus Missalibus et alijs libris. Capitulum iiij.

Sudaria pro patenis tenendis et oblacionibus ad missas faciendis sunt sex quarum unum magnum pro magno calice[a] Cervicalia. autem sunt sex quorum tria cum diversis armis. ¶ Quartum cum duabus ymaginibus Edwardi et iohannis. ¶ Quintum de panno Serico. ¶ Sextum de rubio Sendal. Tabula plicabilis est una in qua continentur octo ymagines eburnee. Missalia vero sunt sex quorum primum vetus est in capella abbatis. Et aliud Oxonie in custodia scolarium[b] . iiij° (*sic*) autem missalia sunt vetera abbreviata. ¶ Quinque vero sunt libri benedictionales quorum unus rubio Serico coopertus. ¶ Secundus et tercius cum asseribus. ¶ Quartus et quintus sine asseribus. Libri quidem de Placebo et dirige notati sunt tres. ¶ Item alius liber de evangelijs rubio corio coopertus. ¶ Item unus liber pro sereo Paschali benedicendo et alijs pluribus in eodem

[a] No doubt the great chalice given by Henry III. described in Part iij. chap. vj.

[b] Probably at Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, the Benedictine Hostel.

contentis. ¶ Item duo libri pro sepultura mortuorum. ¶ Item tres libri de ultimis lectionibus. ¶ Item tres libri cum asseribus de diversis in eis contentis et quinque quaterni parvi valoris.

De Calefactorijs Pixidibus et baculis festivalibus pro Nativitate domini. Capitulum v.

Calefactoria sunt duo Cupria minime deaurata parvi valoris. Pixis est unus eburneus in quo continetur unus lapis de berillo rotundus pro novo igne in vigilia Pasche a sole capiendo.[a] Baculi festivales sunt decem pro Nativitate domini quorum unus eburneus alij quinque integri quatuor vero alij confracti.[b]

De Albis stolis et Manipulis diversorum colorum. Capitulum vj.

Albe de Serico novem diversi operis. Albe vero nigri coloris sunt sex valde debiliores et quasi nullius valoris. ¶ Albe pro invitatorijs sunt xxvij. diversi operis et coloris et pene nullius valoris. ¶ Stole diversorum colorum sunt octo cum totidem manipulis pene consumptis.

De capis Casulis et tunicis diversorum colorum et Dyaspins. Capitulum vij.

[Casula est una cum duabus tunicis albi coloris de panno aureo cum una capa alba assignata pro commemoratione beate Marie.][c] Item una capa casula cum duabus tunicis viridis coloris cum armis anglie et hyspannie pro regina Alienora assignate.[d] ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis nigri coloris cum avibus capitibus aureis de dyaspyns. ¶ Item una capa casula cum duabus tunicis de

[a] This was a burning glass, by means of which the new fire was kindled on Easter Even, instead of being struck from a flint. Such a practice was not uncommon. It was done at York. "In Sabbato Sancto Paschae ignis de berillo vel de silice exceptus." (*Missale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Soc. 1874, vol. i. p. 109.)

[b] I am unable to say what these were. The first suggestion was: were these the staves for the rulers of the choir? but why are they then limited to Christmas? Were these vergers' staves for keeping the people back at the mattins and first mass of Christmas Day? Cf. "Magister precedet cum virga conventum ad reprimendum superfluitatem laycorum, ne frontose contra eum procedant." (Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, Lond. 1788, p. 30.)

[c] The paragraph within brackets has been crossed out with red.

[d] See above, pars v. cap. xiij. and pars vij. cap. v.

nigro panno de Samyt pro commemoratione Sancti benedicti assignate.[a] ¶ Item una casula de nigro Samyt cum duabus tunicis de nigro Serico non eiusdem secte pro anniversarijs principalibus quondam assignata. ¶ Item quinque cape nigri coloris auro brudate veteres. ¶ Item tres cape de panno nigro de Samyt. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis de rubio panno. ¶ Item una casula de panno nigro de Samyt. ¶ Item una casula Glaucei coloris. ¶ Item cape pro invitatorijs[b] sunt quatuor decim diversi operis et coloris et pene nullius valoris.

De Tapetis et Quissinis. Capitulum viij.

Tapeta rubia cotidiana pro magno altari assignata sunt duo cum armis Petri et Pauli. ¶ Item alia sunt tapeta viridia blodia et rubia pene consumpta. ¶ Item quatuor sunt quissina de viridi sindone duo de Serico et tria vetera de bawdekyn.

De Tabernaculo Septro Olla vitrea et lanterna. Capitulum ix.

~~Tabernaculum vetus est unum~~ [~~ad feretrum Sti. Edwardi~~][c] ~~cum Costis de berillo cum ymaginibus in eisdem depictis ornatis argento pro corpore Christi antiquitus in eodem ponendo~~[d] ¶ Item unum septrum de cupro deaurato.[e] ¶ Item una olla vitrea

[a] Black for St. Benedict, a confessor, may be noted; especially as green was the colour in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 331): "darke chaungeable grene bawdkyn with blewe orpheus servyng for saynt Benets consuets;" though there was "blewe bawdekyn . . . . whiche serve ffor som confessors in three copys."

[b] Copes for the *juvenes* and *mediocres* that sang the Invitatory to *Venite* at mattins. (*Consuetudinary*, fo. 18. b.)

[c] This has been written over line and very nearly erased.

[d] This tabernacle with transparent sides may very possibly have served for carrying the Blessed Sacrament in the Corpus Christi procession. For Palm Sunday, abbot Lytlington's book does not tell us the ceremonies of the procession, though it gives the blessing of the palms, and thus we do not certainly know that the Blessed Sacrament was carried on Palm Sunday at Westminster; but the custom was so widely spread in England, and apparently had its source in a Benedictine house, that it is a very likely opinion that it was practised at Westminster. There was a crystalline pyx at St. Paul's. "Item Ciborium crystallinum ultra altare ad reponendum eukaristam." (Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, Lond. 1818, ed. Ellis, Appendix, p. 330.) See above, pars ij. cap. j.

[e] There does not appear to have been a copper gilt sceptre in 1540 (see p. 324).

vocata Merlyngispot.[a] Item una lanterna in vigilijs principalibus pro visitacione facienda in custodia subsacriste.[b]

De Bawdekyns diversorum colorum et diversi operis. Capitulum x.

Panni maiores de bawdekyn diversi operis et coloris sunt decem. ¶ Item viginti panni de bawdekyn minores diversi operis et coloris. Item quatuor panni de Syndone quorum duo pro ymaginibus Iohannis et Edwardi ad feretrum tempore quadragesimali tegendis. Alij pro alijs ymaginibus tegendis. Item duo panni de panno lineo albi et blodij coloris etiam pro ymaginibus tegendis.

Explicit minus registrum de rebus simplicioribus vestibulo inventis.

[a] *i. e.* Merlyng's pot. It is in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 345) as "A glasse called Marlyons glasse." The word *olla* may mean a measure.

[b] In the early days of the Benedictines, some of the officers went with a lantern during Mattins through the choir to see if any monks were asleep, and through the house to see if any monks were absent from choir. (See Martene, *de antiquis Monachorum ritibus*, Lib. I. cap. ii. § lxii. Basani, 1788, t. iv. p. 12. Constitutiones Lanfranci, in Wilkins' *Concilia*, Lond. 1737, t. i. p. 348. Ducange, *sub v.* Absconsa.) This was also done at Westminster. (*Consuetudinary*, fo. 101. b.) There was also a visitation after compline on the vigils of principal feasts (fol. 20. b.), the officers carrying a lantern in winter. (fo. 8. b.)

APPENDIX II.

Letters Patent of Richard II. giving a complete set of red Vestments to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster. (Muniment Room, Parcel 63.)

Ricardus, etc.

Sciatis quod nos ad corpus gloriosi Confessoris beati Edwardi Regis antecessoris nostri quod in ecclesia beati Petri Westñi. honorifice tumulatur ubi nuperrime benedictionis et unccionis ac regalitatis nostre insignia gracia divina suscepimus animo devocionis commoti et de divina gratia ac meritis predicti Confessoris confisi quandam casulam rubeam de panno aureo de Cipres contextam cum quercubus aureis cum aurifragiis ex una parte scilicet cum magestate sancte Trinitatis et ymaginibus beate Marie sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris sancti Edmundi Regis et Martyris cum armis sancti Edwardi et nostris ac Anne Regine Anglie Consortis nostre carissime et ex alia parte aurifragii cum ymaginibus beate Marie sancti Johannis Baptiste cuiusdam Abbatisse cum armis sancti Edwardi ac nostris et prefate Consortis nostre ac duas tunicas de eodem panno aurifragiatas cum vineis aureis et coronis aureis intertextis et tres albas cum paruris eiusdem panni cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis et tribus zonis albis ac tres capas eiusdem panni et eiusdem operis cum aurifragiis consimilibus et duos frontellos eiusdem panni et eiusdem operis ac tres togellos quorum unus habet quoddam frontelettum eiusdem operis annexum et quendam pannum pro lectrina eiusdem panni et eiusdem operis aurifragiatum cum vineis aureis et coronis aureis intertextis nec non duas curtinas rubias de consimili opere Abbati et conventui loci predicti devote et reverenter dedimus et contulimus isto die habendum sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum ut ipsi cum casula tunicis albis capis stolis manipulis zonis frontellis togellis panno et curtinis predictis divina in ecclesia predicta singulis diebus solempnibus et festivis in honorem dei et prefati gloriosi Confessoris perpetuis futuris temporibus celebrare valeant et ministrare. Et hoc universis et singulis presentibus et futuris ad perpetuam rei memoriam tenore presencium innotescimus publice et expresse hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus W. Cantuar' Archiepiscopo tocius Anglie primate W. Wynton cancellario Th.

Exon. Thesaurario nostris I. Herefordeñ Episcopis Thoma de Hollanđ. Kanc. Will° de Monte Acuto Sarum Henrico de percy Northumbrie comitibus Iohanne devereux Senescallo hospicij nostri Petro de Courtenay camerario nostro magistro Edmund de Stafford custode privati sigilli nostri et aliis.

Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium vicesimo octavo die Maij anno regni nostri duodecimo.

Per ipsum regem

BURTON.

APPENDIX III.

Letters Patent of Richard II. giving a gold ruby ring to the Shrine of St. Edward, under certain conditions. (*Muniment Room, Parcel 63.*)

Ricardus, etc.

Sciatis quod nos ad corpus gloriosi Confessoris beati Edwardi Regis antecessoris nostri quod in ecclesia beati Petri Westñi. honorifice tumulatur ubi nuperrime benediccionis et unccionis regalitatis nostre insignia gracia divina suscepimus animo devocionis commoti et de divina gratia ac meritis predicti Confessoris confisi quoddam solenne iocale anulum videlicet aureum cum quodam lapide precioso vocato ruby non modici valoris in eodem anulo inserto feretro eiusdem gloriosi Confessoris devote et reverenter dedimus et contulimus isto die sub protestatione et conditione subsequenti videlicet ut nos dum steterimus in humanis usum et exercicium anuli predicti optineamus pro nostre libito voluntatis et quotiens in persona nostra ad aliquas partes extra regnum nostrum Anglie transire nos contingat anulum predictum super feretrum illud fixum quidem de eodem regno absentes fuerimus remanere et servari ac in quociens reditu sive regressu nostris ad idem regnum nobismet ipsis re[troce]di volumus et liberari ad nostrum proprium usum custodiendum. Ita quod cum altissimo placuerit ab hac luce nos migrare anulus predictus ad prefatum feretrum reportetur et super illud fixus ibidem custodiatur et servetur pro coronacionibus successorum nostrorum Regum Anglie perpetuis futuris [temp]oribus serviturus et quoscunque successores nostros predictos cum eodem anulo successivis temporibus in coronacionibus suis volumus insi[gnari] huius modi solempnitate peracta anulus predictus super feretro illo de tempore in tempus illico reponatur absque amocione inde aliter sine alio modo quam pro coronacione successorum nostrorum qualitercumque facienda premissa autem omnibus et singulis successoribus nostris Regibus Anglie futuris intimamus eos attente rogantes ut placeat eis in coronacionibus suis cum predicto anulo iuxta effectum presentis intencionis et voluntatis nostrarum imperpetuum in forma predicta insignari sive anulari. Et hoc universis et singulis presentibus et futuris ad perpetuum rei memoriam tenore presencium innotescimus publice et expresse hiis textibus (*sic*) W. Cantuar' Archiepiscopo tocius Anglie primate Th. Eboraceñs Archiepiscopo Anglie primate Cancellario nostro W. Winton W.

Dunolm I. Herefordeñ. Thesaurario nostro R. Bathon et Wellon. I. Sarum Custode privati sigilli nostri episcopis. Richardo comite Arundell Thoma de Bello Campo Comite Warrenne. Johanne Devereux Seneschallo hospitii Petro de Courtenay Camerario nostro Johanne lovel Richardo lescrop̃ et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium quarto decima die Novembris anno regni nostri duodecimo.

Per ipsum regem

BURTON̄

duplex per rotulum

In both these letters patent the great seal is the same: it is in green wax, appended by red and purple strings, and from the Bretigny matrix.

APPENDIX IV.

An indenture of December 1st, 1387, between the Abbot and Convent of Westminster on the one part, and Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and Eleanor, his wife, on the other, by which certain vestments and other ornaments are bestowed upon the Convent.[a] (*Muniment Room, Parcel 63.*)

It may be noticed that, though the indenture is dated December 1st, 1387, most of the gifts are described in the added paragraphs of the Inventory, which begin *et in incremento de novo*, notwithstanding that the Inventory is said to have been made on June 30th, 1388.

Universis sanctae matris ecclesiae filiis ad quos praesentes literae pervenerint Willelmus permissione divina Abbas monasterii Westmonasterii et ejusdem loci conventus ordinis sancti Benedicti ad Romanam Curiam nullo medio pertinentes salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Cum illustris Princeps dominus Thomas Dux Gloucestriae et nobilis domina domina Alianora consors ejusdem ad celestia desideria erecti affectantesque divini cultus officium pro viribus ampliare nobis et ecclesiae nostrae caritatis intuitu et ob animae suae salutem quaedam jocalia preciosa contulerunt pia mente, videlicet: unum vestimentum panni deaurati optimi de Damasco campo rubei coloris continens unam casulam duas tunicas et tres capas cum aurifragiis nigri velvetti brudatis cum literis 𝔗 et 𝔄 et signis de margaritarum perillis tres albas tres amictus cum paruris duas stolas et tres manipulos ejusdem panni deaurati cum Satyno candido

[a] I have again to thank Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for the transcription of this interesting and important document, which he copied, together with a great part of Flete's *Chronicon*, during our visits to the Library and Muniment Room of Westminster. In the notes on the inventory I have thus been able to refer directly to Flete, who sometimes uses the very words of the inventory in describing gifts to the convent.

linat'. Item unam grandem cupam de Berilla pro Eukaristiam in eadem deferendam ornatam argento bene deauratam et nobiliter operatam quae ponderat in toto secundum pondus Troiae xx marcas v uncias v d. Item duos angelos argenteos ad tenendos cereos cum scutis armorum dictorum Ducis et Consortis suae et armis integris de Herford et de Essexia nobiliter operatis qui ponderant in toto secundum pondus Troiae xxv marcas iij uncias. Item duas pelves argenteas et deauratas et in utraque pelve signum solis cum rosis in fundo unde in una continetur ymago sanctae Trinitatis in altera vero ymago sanctae Mariae virginis et sui infantis et super borduris dictarum duarum pelvium arma praefati Ducis et arma de Essex bene et nobiliter operata quae ponderant in toto secundum pondus Troiae ix marcas iij uncias. Item unum turribulum magnum argenteum et deauratum bene et nobiliter operatum cum pinnaculis et intra pinnacula diversorum sanctorum ymagines argentae et non deauratae quod ponderat in toto secundum pondus Troiae xv marcas ij uncias. Nos igitur dicti Abbas et Conventus. volentes et cupientes pro terrenis celestia et transitoriis eterna felici commercio merito recompensare. ut sic saltem benefactoribus nostris coram et in judicis tribulani de suis hujus beneficiis tuciorem reddamus racionem ex unanimi consensu Capituli nostri concedimus et obligamus nos et successores nostros quod singulis annis imperpetuum diem anniversarium dictorum domini Thomae et dominae Alianorae in ecclesia nostra conventuali Westmonasterii fideliter et devote celebrabimus et faciemus celebrari id ad praedicta quidem debite faciend' et inviolabiliter observand' obligamus nos et successores nostros et praemittimus bona fide.

In cujus rei testimonium tam sigillum commune capituli nostri quam sigillum dicti domini Ducis istis indenturis alternatim sunt appensa.

Datum in domo nostra Capitulari primo die Decembris Anno Domini Millesimo ccc^{mo} octagesimo septimo.

Endorsed :

Ind' Vestm̃ concess' ecctie Westm̃ p ducē Glouc^{r}.

The seal appended to this half of the indenture is a broken impression in red wax of the beautiful secretum of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester. It is circular, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and bears within a cusped and traceried

quatrefoil a trunk of a tree (wood-stock) standing within a paling and surrounded by water, on which float two chained swans, the de Bohun badge; from the tree hangs a large shield of the duke's arms, *France ancient and England quarterly within a bordure argent*, with his helm and crest, and from the side branches hang two delicately diapered shields of Hereford, *Azure two bendlets, one or, the other argent.* Legend:

[Le : seal : de : thome : fitz] : du : Roy : [duc : de : glouc' : conte :
deffexi]e : de : buk : [angleterre]

XII.—*On the exploration of a Barrow at Youngsbury, near Ware, Herts.* *By* John Evans, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., *President.*

Read November 28, 1889.

In treating of the parish of Standon, Salmon, in his *History of Hertfordshire*,[a] relates that "At the Extremity of this Parish are two large Barrows on the Brink of the Hill which overlooks *Thundritch* Church, between which and the Barrows is the Course of the *Rib*. This Place is called *Haven End*; probably for having been the Harbour where the *Danes* laid up their Vessels, which they brought from the *Thames* to *Ware* and *Hertford* to carry off their Plunder. Here they were well seated to have the *Roman* Road for Carriage of what they could pick up, and to drive the Cattle they stole. And these *Tumuli* being at that Haven, which could never be used as such by any but the *Danes*, helps forward the Conjecture that these in *England* are chiefly *Danish* Work, set up for Victory and Terror."

I have quoted this passage at length as a good example of the conclusions to which a vivid imagination not unfrequently led the ardent antiquary of the last century. Salmon had evidently not read or else had forgotten what Sir Thomas Browne[b] had written on such subjects: "But of these and the like Hills there can be no clear and assured decision without an ocular exploration, and subterraneous enquiry by cutting through one of them either directly or crosswise. For so with lesser charge discovery may be made what is under them, and consequently the intention of their erection." Under any circumstances, however,

[a] London 1727, p. 235.

[b] Certain Miscellany Tracts (1684), p. 154

the two tumuli mentioned by Salmon still exist, and are on the property of Mr. Charles Giles-Puller of Youngsbury, near Ware, and at a little distance from the house. Youngsbury lies about half a-mile to the east of the Roman road leading from Ware to Braughing, where the station *Ad fines* was situated, and where numerous coins, both Roman and Ancient British, as well as other relics, have from time to time been found.

The readers of *Fuller's Worthies* will remember the Hertfordshire proverb that "Ware and Wades-Mill are worth all London," which he assures you "is a master-piece of the vulgar wits in this county wherewith they endeavour to amuse travellers." "The fallacy lieth in the homonymy of Ware, here not taken for that Town, so named, but appellatively for all vendible commodities." On arriving at Wadesmill, which is two miles to the north of Ware, a road is seen in an easterly direction, which formerly after passing the house of Youngsbury continued to the north-east and went close alongside of the two barrows mentioned by Salmon. By some this road, as well as the direct road to Braughing, has been regarded as of Roman origin, and the position of the two barrows by the side of the road affords some countenance for such an opinion. Clutterbuck, indeed, about 1829, speaks of the barrows as standing "near the track of the old Roman Road called the Ermin Street"[a] and mentions the fact that near the spot a tessellated pavement was discovered in the year 1736, tesseræ from which were still to be picked up in the shrubbery at Youngsbury.

The more eastern of the two barrows is recorded to have been opened a hundred years ago by Mr. David Barclay, the then owner of Youngsbury, and there is a tradition of spearheads, coins, and other objects having been found in it, none of which however are now forthcoming. According to Clutterbuck's account, it was nevertheless Roman pottery and coins that were found in the barrow, which he says proved it to be of Roman origin. Judging from the appearance of the barrow a shaft has been sunk in it from the top, but I am by no means sure that the original central interment has ever been reached. This barrow is of much the same dimensions as the other, the opening of which I am about to describe, and in all probability it belongs to the same period.

Both barrows stand at the edge of a field known as the Hilly Field, and are partially overgrown with whitethorns and maples. On my arrival at Youngsbury, by the kind invitation of Mr. Giles-Puller, on the 11th of June last, I found that a preliminary opening had been made in the upper part of the mound on the

[a] Vol. iii. 277 (1827).

south side. At its outer end this cutting extended over about a sixth part of the circumference of the barrow, but its vertical sides converged so as to leave a face about 6 feet wide at what was apparently the centre of the mound, and at this point the cutting was about 9 feet in depth. The diameter of the barrow as nearly as could be judged is 60 feet, and the height about 12 feet above the surface of the adjoining field.

It proved to have been constructed of successive somewhat irregular layers of the gravelly subsoil of the immediate neighbourhood and of the surface soil, intermixed in places with layers of a more argillaceous character.

In accordance with my suggestion a new trench was cut in the middle of the former excavation, but only about 6 feet wide. It was at first carried to a depth of 3 feet 6 inches only, gradually increasing to 4 feet 6 inches, with the view of tracing if possible the original land-surface, and it was carried forward in a northerly direction towards the vertical face left by the preliminary digging at the presumed centre of the barrow. There was some difficulty in tracing the old ground-level with accuracy, but in the blacker layer of soil which probably represented the old surface, and in the blacker seams in the body of the mound, a considerable number of rude flint flakes were found, as well as a couple of "scrapers," one of them very well formed. These worked flints, which must have lain in or on the old surface-soil, seem to afford evidence of the spot having been occupied by some early inhabitants of the country, probably in pre-Roman times. The use of flints, however, for various purposes, such as for procuring fire or fashioning the teeth of their *tribula* or threshing instruments was well known to the Romans. During the first day's work the trench was carried forward about 20 feet, and besides the worked flints a small shapeless piece of bronze was found and a portion of the neck of a large urn of red ware, evidently of Roman make.

On Thursday June the 13th the work was continued, the depth of the new trench being increased to 5 feet until it arrived at the face left by the first excavation, which thus attained the dimensions of about 14 feet in height and 6 feet or so in width. It then seemed as if we had reached the central axis of the barrow without finding any interment, and that all our labour had been in vain.

I was however somewhat doubtful whether after all the centre had been reached, and I directed that a tunnel should be made in the lower part of the face of soil in the hope that we might prove to have been mistaken in our measurements. Three or four strokes of the pickaxe only had been given, when an oven-like cavity, about 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet was revealed. The roof of this cavity

was formed by a layer of hard and stiff clayey soil, which had proved sufficiently strong to support the upper part of the barrow, and to prevent it from falling down into the vacant space which, as will subsequently be seen, had originated with the decay of a wooden cist. The roof of the cavity was about 8 feet below the apex of the mound, and its floor consisted of loose gravelly material. This I proceeded carefully to clear away by means of a hoe and a pocket-knife, and I ventured to predict that we should find first the iron clamps or hinges of a wooden cist, secondly a sepulchral urn and probably an earthenware bottle, and thirdly, if fortune favoured us, a glass bottle or urn.

My anticipations were soon confirmed by coming across an iron clamp or rather a rough pair of hinges bent at right angles, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, and extending 9 to 10 inches in either direction. Of these hinges there were found four in all, and though the wooden chest has entirely disappeared, yet from the texture of the fibres preserved by infiltration with iron it appears that the material of which it was formed was in all probability oak. This chest was originally just over 3 feet long and 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. Its exact height could not be determined.

Clearing out the loose gravel and soil still further, a magnificent sepulchral urn became visible, lying slightly on one side. It had split into three principal sections and a few smaller fragments, but is in wonderfully good condition, and has been well repaired by Mr. Talbot Ready.

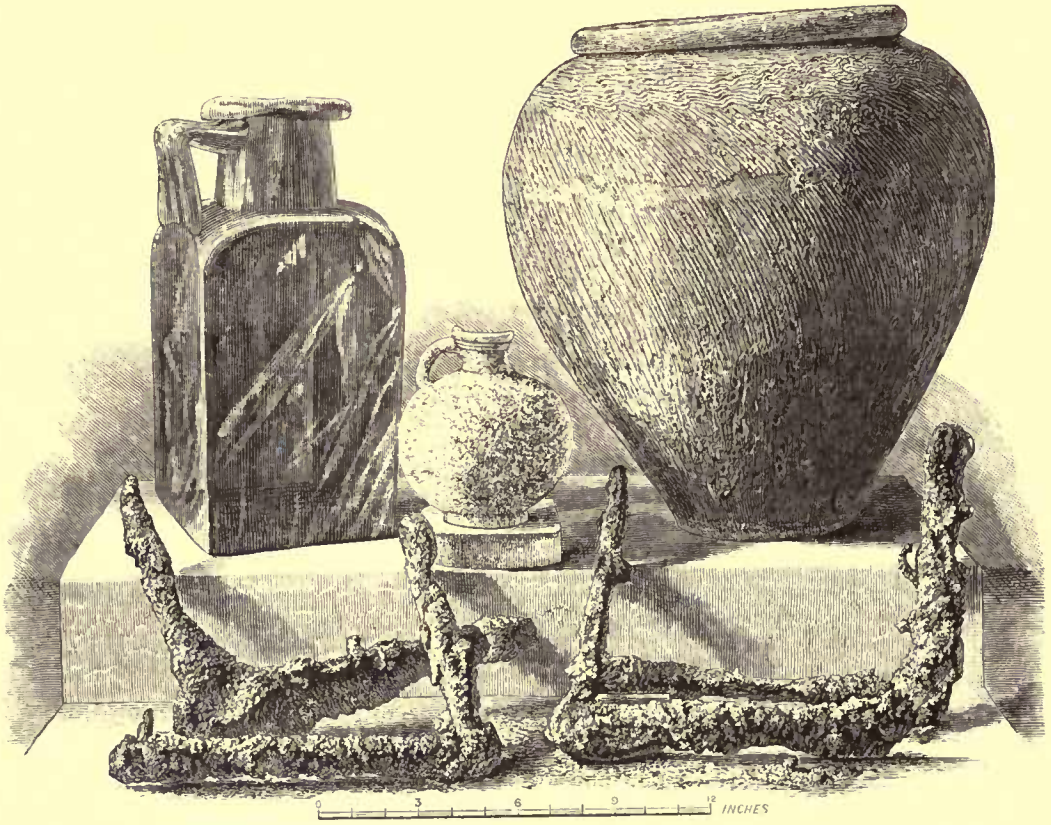
It is an *olla* formed of well-burnt grey ware, with a bold rim nearly an inch in depth round the opening, and its surface ornamented with parallel markings somewhat like corduroy. These at the neck are wavy, but on the body run in graceful curves. This ornamentation is by no means common, but is not unlike that which occurs on some Late-Celtic urns.

Its height is 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, its greatest diameter 1 foot $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, the base is $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches across, and the opening of the mouth $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the clear. When found it contained a large quantity of apparently well-burnt bones in small fragments, of which I shall subsequently speak.

It is one of the largest Roman sepulchral *ollæ* ever found in this country, and larger than any of those in the British Museum. The largest of these, a plain *olla* found at Old Windsor in 1865, and presented to the Museum by Her Majesty, is 13 inches high.

In general form it resembles some of the sepulchral urns found in the Roman *ustrinum* at Litlington, Cambridgeshire, and described in the *Archæologia*,[a] but

[a] Vol. xxxvi. p. 368, pl. xliv.



VESSELS OF GLASS AND EARTHENWARE, ETC., FOUND IN A BARROW AT YOUNGSBURY, NEAR WARE.

its dimensions are larger. One of those found at Chesterford and described by Douglas[a] in the *Nenia Britannica* was 13 inches high and 12 in diameter. The exact character of this urn and of the other objects found in the Youngsbury barrow will be seen from the accompanying plate.

To the right of the large urn lay a small globular bottle of light-coloured ware with a lip and handle. It is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It is of a very common type, of which numerous examples have been found accompanying Roman interments, both in Britain and on the Continent. Not to cite more examples, I may mention one that was found with glass vessels at Boxmoor,[b] Herts, in 1837. This is, however, less spherical in its proportions.

The third object found was standing in an upright position to the left or west of the principal urn. It is a very large square glass bottle with a thick lip and a nearly rectangular flat handle which is fluted or ribbed longitudinally. This vessel is perfect with the exception of a slight damage to the lip. Its dimensions are as follows:

Total height	15 inches.
Height of body to shoulder . . .	$11\frac{1}{4}$,,
Diameter of lip	5 ,,
Diameter of mouth	3 ,,
Width of handle	3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$,,
Width of side at top	7 ,,
,, ,, bottom . . .	$6\frac{5}{8}$,,

The bottom is ornamented with a pattern in relief formed of an inner circle about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and an outer circle of about 5 inches. Between them are eight segments of circles forming a kind of star pattern. Outside the larger circle there is in each angle of the base of the bottle a segment of a circle with two radial lines like a fragment of a wheel.

It is not a little remarkable that in 1829 there was discovered in a stone sarcophagus at Harpenden,[c] which like Youngsbury is in the county of Hertford, a glass vase of the same size and character and with the same pattern upon its base—in fact a bottle not improbably made in the same mould as the one now

[a] P. 137, pl. xxviii. 1.

[b] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 434. See also *Archaeologia*, vol. ii. p. 177, pl. x. fig. 6, for one found in a tomb at York.

[c] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 349.

before us. The Harpenden bottle was accompanied by four small cups of red pseudo-Aretine ware, and is now in the British Museum, having been presented by Mr. Charles William Packe. It is $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with sides $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad. The lip is 5 inches across, with an opening of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The handle is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide.

Another bottle-shaped vase of greenish-coloured glass and of about the same dimensions and form as that from Youngsbury was among the objects found by the late Lord Braybrooke when he opened the great Bartlow barrow[a] in 1835. It is described as "being seven inches and a quarter square, eleven inches and a half to the shoulder, and altogether full fifteen and a half inches high. The lip is five and a half inches in diameter, admitting the hand freely." It was full of burnt bones, as was also that now under consideration. Though so similar in form and size there is no record of the base being ornamented. This vase has, I believe, now perished by fire.

Another large vase of the same character was found at Boxmoor,[b] Herts, in 1837, in company with a spherical glass urn and other objects. It also is now in the British Museum. It stands 12 inches high and 9 inches to the shoulder. The body is 6 inches square. The lip is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches over, with an opening of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the handle is from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches broad. There are two raised concentric circles on the base with a straight figure in the centre expanding at the ends like a dice-box.

Another bottle from Messing, Essex, presented to the Museum by the Earl of Verulam, is of the same height, and of about the same dimensions at the mouth, but the body is only about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches square. The largest vessel of the kind in the national collection is one obtained by Mr. G. Payne, F.S.A. from Bayford,[c] near Sittingbourne. It is $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, the sides $7\frac{3}{4}$ to 8 inches across. The bottom is not ornamented.

A bottle of the same form, but only 10 inches high and 5 inches square, was found at Lincoln[d] towards the end of the last century and described by Governor Pownall.

In the large urn, besides comminuted burnt bones, with which it was nearly filled, were upwards of a hundred pieces of charcoal, remains of the funeral pyre. These have been kindly examined for me by Professor H. Marshall Ward, F.R.S.

[a] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 300, pl. xxxii. fig. 1.

[b] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 434.

[c] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd S. vol. viii. p. 202.

[d] *Archaeologia*, vol. x. p. 345, pl. xxxiii. fig. 3.

who pronounces that the wood from which the charcoal was burnt was probably that of the ash. So far as I can judge, the small branches of the trees or saplings were used for the pyre, and not pieces of wood split from a large trunk.

There were also present nearly two hundred nails and pieces of nails of iron, now much rusted, some of which are coated with ashes that have adhered to them. Many of them are bent. These nails may either have been used in fastening the logs of the funeral pyre together or in the construction of some kind of wooden shell or the *feretrum* on which the body was carried, and eventually placed upon the funeral pile.

The chest in which the urns were deposited was put together with a certain number of large iron nails, besides having, apparently, a lid of two flaps, each of which opened on two of the hinges already mentioned. One of the Bartlow barrows contained a chest of the same character, in which the sepulchral urns were deposited; and the glass vessels discovered at Boxmoor had also been placed in a similar wooden chest, with heavy spikes to bind it together, and with iron clamps, or possibly hinges, of the same kind. It was these facts that led me to anticipate the discovery of the remains of a similar cist in the barrow at Youngsbury.

Among those who were present during the course of the excavations were Mr. Hellier Gosselin, Mr. Martin Leake, Mr. E. S. Hanbury, and Mr. G. B. Buckton, F.R.S., who was at the time staying with Mr. Giles-Puller. Mr. Buckton was good enough to take some photographs, showing the cavity in the middle of the barrow, and its contents, as well as the conductors of the exploration.

But to return to the ashes of the dead. As I have already stated, the large earthenware urn was nearly full of white, coarsely-powdered calcined bones, with only a few larger fragments intermixed, but the glass bottle was also nearly full of similar ashes, though with a greater proportion of large pieces among them. Most of the bones have been much distorted by heat, and from my finding a fragment of what appeared to be a very small skull in the mouth of the bottle, I came at once to the conclusion that it contained the remains of a child, while in the large urn were deposited the remains of its mother. This conclusion, too hastily adopted, has proved to be absolutely erroneous.

Professor John Marshall, F.R.S., and Dr. J. G. Garson, the well-known anthropologist, have both done me the favour of examining such of the bones as present any characteristic features, and both pronounce the remains to be those of an adult. The question arose whether, from the large quantity of ashes, they

might not be the remains of more than one individual, but of this there is no evidence; indeed, the presumption is strongly the other way. Among the remains, principally those deposited in the glass bottle, Dr. Garson has been able to recognise portions of the skull; vertebræ from the cervical, dorsal, and lumbar regions; a portion of the sternum, portions of ribs, two scapulæ, two femurs, two tibiæ, a humerus, radius, pelvis, and digits, all apparently belonging to one and the same individual. The epiphyses were united to the shafts of the bones, but the action of the fire has in some cases made the junction apparent. Among the ashes are some loose, white concretions, which at first were thought to be adipocere, possibly derived from the substances left by the imperfect combustion of the softer parts of the body. On testing a piece of this concretionary stuff, by applying it to a flame, I found, however, that it did not fuse, but that after a time it began to be burnt, and the products of combustion emitted an undoubted fragrance of incense. I was, in fact, burning some of the identical perfume which pious friends had mingled with the ashes of the deceased centuries ago when Britain was a Roman province. Some portions of the substance have been chemically examined by my son, Dr. P. Norman Evans, who finds that in the main it consists of carbonate of lime, which possibly, as burnt chalk, may have been gathered up together with the burnt bones, but that with this is a small amount of fatty matter, and some resinous gum, the melting temperature of which is high. I presume that this resin is what is known as frankincense; but who was the relative "Assyrios cineri qui dedit odores" we can only leave to speculation.

In the *Illustrated News* for July 21st, 1855, is an account of some Roman sepulchral remains found in the previous month of May at Weston Turville, near Wendover, Bucks. There were in this deposit five bottles of glass of various sizes, the largest cylindrical, and about 11½ inches high and 5½ inches in diameter. Adhering to the fragments of this were pieces of bone, while a smaller bottle is described as having contained ashes. In another were some little silver beads, and in a patera of red ware were also ashes having among them leaves possibly of garlands, beads, and fibulæ; but there was also a "white substance, perhaps balsam, which emitted when pressed an aromatic scent." In the *Records of Buckinghamshire* (vol. i. p. 150), it is stated that some of this substance was shown by the Rev. A. Isham to an eminent analytical chemist in London, who thus reported upon it. "The aromatic substance you left with me I find to be the gum resin 'olibanum,' the ancient 'thus,' or frankincense. It was extensively used by the ancients, and a very long account of it is given in Pliny, lib. xii. cap. 14. It

is used as incense in Catholic churches (mixed with other resins) to this day. If you heat a small quantity of it on a piece of iron, you will readily recognise the odour." It is interesting to find a record of a parallel instance in the neighbouring county of Buckingham to that afforded in Hertfordshire of the durable nature of this perfume.

To return to the Youngsbury barrow. The sex of the deceased cannot be positively ascertained; Dr. Garson, however, inclines to the opinion that the bones, which are for the most part fairly calcined, are those of a male. I owe to the same authority a further interesting discovery. Among the human bones are several fragments—not, I think, quite so well burnt as the others—which he at once recognised as belonging to one of the lower animals. On closer examination he has been able to recognise parts of the skull, the lower end of a humerus, the first, second, and seventh cervical vertebræ, bodies of other vertebræ, and part of the pelvis of what was undoubtedly a roe-deer.

The question arises how the intermixture of the bones of two such different beings can have originated. The roe is not an animal commonly offered as a sacrifice, and, even if it had been, it would have been offered at the side of the pyre and not upon it. It would seem rather to have formed one of those dishes of food which were occasionally thrown into the flames as being agreeable to the deceased, a practice recorded by Virgil in his account of the funeral pile of Misenus, in a passage already quoted in the pages of the *Archaeologia*, by one of our former directors, Mr. John Gage, in his account of the exploration of the Bartlow Hills.

> Congesta cremantur
> Thurea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.[a]

This practice of offering to the deceased "savoury meats such as their soul loved," may well be a survival from an earlier stage of culture, when food so often accompanied an interment. Of this, numerous instances are recorded in Canon Greenwell's *British Barrows*, where also some speculations as to the origin of the custom will be found.[b] Among the Gauls, in Cæsar's time, funerals were sumptuous and magnificent; and anything that was dear to the living was cast into the flames of their funeral pyre, even, he says, animals.[c]

It now remains for me to consider whether there are any indications by which we may form an approximate estimate of the date to be assigned to this inter-

[a] Æneid. vi. 225. [b] P. 102 [c] De Bell. Gall. vi c. 19.

ment. The practice of enclosing the sepulchral urns in cists of wood seems to have prevailed during a considerable part of the period of the Roman occupation of this country in districts where stone for such receptacles was not readily available. In some cases, however, brick was used as a substitute for stone. I have already remarked that in some of the Bartlow Hills such wooden cists were discovered inclosing the funereal vessels. Now, in one of these Bartlow barrows a coin of the emperor Hadrian[a] was found adhering to a portion of burnt bone. As the coin was probably not struck until about A.D. 117 it is evident that the interment cannot be of earlier date. But the coin was so much defaced, either by corrosion or wear, that the burial may not unfairly be assumed to belong to a period some twenty or thirty years later. In this case, however, the vessels were of a somewhat different character from those found at Youngsbury, and they had been deposited in a receptacle built of brick, and not in a wooden cist. Moreover, the contents of Roman barrows of course much depend upon the social position of those in whose honour they were raised; so that contemporary burials may vary much in their surroundings, and comparison of the funereal deposits be of little value in determining relative dates.

The large glass vases found at Youngsbury, Harpenden, and Bartlow, point, however, to a time when Roman civilisation in Britain had attained a high development; and though at first I was inclined to assign the construction of the Youngsbury barrows to the beginning of the third century after Christ, I am, on further consideration, doubtful whether we may not with more probability regard them as belonging to the latter half of the second century. Whether the ashes be those of a man or of a woman, there can be little doubt that they are those of an occupant of the neighbouring villa, who during life held a high social position. Not improbably the sister barrow contains the partner of his or her joys and sorrows. Of their names, ages, or occupations not the slightest record is left. "Who were the proprietaries of these Bones, or what Bodies these Ashes made up, were a question above Antiquarism, not to be resolved by man, nor easily perhaps by Spirits.—Had they made as good provision for their Names as they have done for their Reliques, they had not so grossly erred in the art of Perpetuation."[b]

[a] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 7.

[b] Browne's *Hydriotaphia*, ch. v.

XIII.—*The Oratory of the Holy Trinity at Barton, in the Isle of Wight.*
By Thomas F. Kirby, *M.A., Local Secretary for Hampshire.*

Read December 19, 1889.

The Oratory of the Holy Trinity at Barton, in the Isle of Wight, came to an end long before the general dissolution of religious houses, and thus escaped the notice of Dugdale. Sir Richard Worsley's *History of the Isle of Wight* (page 177) contains a short account of it. The oratory was founded in 1275, by two parish priests, master Thomas de Winton, rector of Godshill, and Sir John de Insula (de l'Isle), rector of Shalfleet. They were men of property and good family, and I suppose that their object in adding another to the numerous religious houses in the island was that there should be one such house under the direct jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, owing no allegiance to the pope, or to any of the existing monastic bodies under his influence.

The charter of foundation does not exist. There is an *inspeximus* of it in the Register of John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester 1280-1304, and I exhibit one by Henry Woodlock, his successor, dated May 10, 1310, from which, with the help of two copies, the one contemporaneous and the other made at the time when the possessions of the oratory were transferred to Winchester college, I have transcribed the charter of foundation, which has not hitherto been printed:

"Pateat universis quod nos, Thomas de Wynton, Rector ecclesie de Godeshull, et Johannes de Insula, Rector ecclesie de Shaldeflete, fundatores oratorii Sancte Trinitatis de Burtona[a] in Insulâ Vectâ infra limites parochie de Wyppyngham speciali Dei graciâ invocatâ disponimus statuimus et ordinamus in dicto Oratorio

[a] Called indifferently Barton, Berton, or Burton in the old documents.

sex Capellanos cum clerico imperpetuum pro vivis ac defunctis divina celebrantes juxta regulam beati Augustini de vitâ et honestate clericorum viventes, de quibus unus presentetur domino Episcopo Wynton. in Archipresbyterum per eundem preficiendus, cui tanquam presidenti ceteri intendant et obediant et sacramentum obedientie praestent: Quo cedente vel decedente residui residentes Capellani infra viginti dies a tempore vacationis significatione ydoneum eligant et predicto Episcopo Wynton. vel vices predicti Episcopi in dicto Episcopatu gerenti presentent per eum vel vices eius gerentem in Archipresbyterio dicto oratorio preficiendum. Quod si minime infra dictum tempus electionis et presentacionis negotium effectualiter fuerint executi Capellani predicti, cum eis canonicum non obstiterit impedimentum, per supradictum Episcopum Wynton. quicumque fuerit, illâ vice de ydoneo Archipresbytero de dicto Collegio presbyterorum sine more dispendio provideatur Oratorio memorato. Ita quod per hoc dictis Capellanis cum alias archipresbytero vacaverit dicto Oratorio non generetur prejudicium quominus eligendi archipresbyteri unius ex se vel aliunde liberam habeant facultatem. Et hec forma in omnibus vacacionibus Archipresbyterii temporibus futuris obsequetur imperpetuum. Volumus eciam archipresbyteros predictos cum suis Capellanis infra septa domûs moram trahentes immediate subjaceant cohercioni et correccioni supradicti Episcopi, et in eis solus habeat jurisdictionem immediate. Earumque servitores infra septa domus et extra commorantes Archidiaconi subjaceant jurisdictioni: Ita quod sint eiusdem condicionis cuius sint servitores aliorum Collegiatorum in diocesi qui nunc sint exempti. Cum quis autem in dicto Oratorio Capellanus receptus fuerit habeat annum probacionis sue a tempore sui ingressûs et si ydoneus invenietur extunc faciat professionem ibidem: Ita quod nullus Capellanus in dicto Oratorio commorantium per se ullum proprium habeat, sed sint eis omnia communia, tanquam Dei ministris. Jurabunt etiam quod observantias et statuta domûs pro suis juribus observabunt. Volumus eciam quod supradictus Episcopus Wynton. sit patronus eorum. Itemque quod nemini sit fas provisionem disposicionem seu ordinacionem a nobis in dicto Oratorio factam retinere, diminuere, seu in peius convertere, sed rata et stabilis secundum presentem institucionem nostram manent et preservetur imperpetuum illibata. Cedente vero vel decedente, archipresbytero administratis ab eisdem presbyteris per eosdem elegatur qui tempore vacacionis tam interius quam exterius negotia domûs fideliter administret et exsequatur, qui archipresbytero posteâ instituto et eiusdem loci Capellanis ratiocinia reddat de negociis sic per eum administratis. Item ordinamus, quod secundum facultatem dicte domûs honeste deserviantur tam in esculentis quam poculentis; ita quod uno ferculo cum pietantiâ ad minus sint contenti et in

maioribus festis tercio ferculo si facultates domûs hoc permittere deserviant. Statuimus eciam et ordinamus in dictâ domo de Burton tresdecim pauperes singulis diebus alendos et reficiendos. Ita videlicet quod quilibet pauper habeat sustentacionem unius diei in victualibus, scilicet uno pane, potu,[a] potagio, et pietantiâ carnis seu piscis, prout qualitates temporis exigent. Ad istam elemosinam faciendam emptum fuit manerium de Croddemore.[b] Item quod unus ex Capellanis predictis eligatur per presidentem ad istam elemosinam fidelitur destribuendam. Sint autem predicti presbyteri archipresbytero in omnibus licitis obedientes, in moribus et in verbis pudorem indefinentem exhibeant, in habitu et incessu debent esse ordinati, in gravitate itineris mentis maturitatem ostendant, moribus sobrii, et in mundiciâ vite existentes, ita quod vita eorum et conversacio sit secreta et a laicorum artibus remota.

Sint eciam assidui in lectione et oracione, ut, sicut loco, ita precellant religione. Nullus exeat scepta domûs nisi de licencia Archipresbyteri, si presens fuerit, vel si absens ipsius cui commiserit vices suas. Nullus solus sed cum socio gradiatur. Caveant eciam ne faciant latenter convencionulas, contractiones, contenciones, sermones probrosos, libellos famosos, verba incomposita, inter se aut aliquos familiares aut extrinsecos. Si si qua viderint corrigenda, in presentia omnium fratrum in capitulo proponantur, ut Archipresbyter super illis manus imponat adjutrices et reformet que viderit reformanda, et corrigat que viderit corrigenda in articulis suprascriptis. Et quod habeant tractatum administracionis super agendis semel in mense. Et hoc volumus inter predictos presbyteros inviolabiliter observari. Et si ipsi vel eorum aliquis predictos articulos vel eorum aliquem seu quemlibet contempserit non observando inter fratres in capitulo fraternam dilectionem pro secundo et tertio corripiantur vel corripiatur. Et si animo indurato quarto inveniantur vel inveniatur deliquisse secundum regulam S. Augustini puniantur seu puniatur. Utantur autem tam Archipresbyter in Oratorio superpeliciis cum capis nigris, extra vero vestibus humilibus et unius coloris, utpote de nigro vel de nigro Burnet. Item ordinamus quod Archipresbyter et confratres sui habeant unam robam annuatim in feste Omnium Sanctorum cum furruris agninis. Item quod unius secte et omnia alia necessaria tam in lectis, calceamentis, pannis, lineis, quam in aliis cum opus fuerit de communibus bonis ipsorum, et hoc per manus presidentis, cum super his vel eorum aliquo requisitus fuerit. Item ordinamus quod cum susceperint vestes novas fiat erogatio pauperibus ad portam venientibus de veteribus per manus presidentis. Ita

[a] Beer.

[b] Crudmoor, a farm of 112 acres situate in Carisbrooke parish.

quod fratres habeant semper duplicem robam ad minus. Volumus insuper et ordinamus quod si aliquis de parentibus sociorum vestimento vel aliis relictis indigeat, ceteris pauperibus preferatur, et quatenus indiguerit pre aliis sibi datur. Item quilibet eorum utatur pallio hibernensi de nigro Burneto cum pileo, et sit habitus eorum in mensâ ut ipsi ab aliis cognoscantur. Habeant eciam Archipresbyter unam capam eiusdem coloris et duas alias communes ad opus capellanorum exeuntium cum fuerit oportunum. Omnes vero in eodem comedant et bibant refectorio. Item quod Archipresbyter sit in capite mense, et juxta eum secundum gradum officii sui in ecclesiâ proponantur; scilicet qui celebraverit magnam missam juxta archipresbyterum, et postea presbyter beate Marie, et postea presbyter de Trinitate, et postea presbyter celebrans pro defunctis et alii presbyteri postea succedant. Istum ordinem volumus ibidem semper observari. Si extranei ibidem existentes vel occasio convocacionum predictum ordinem impediat vel ordo predictus fiat impeditus, tunc secundum ordinacionem et industriam archipresbyteri predicti capellani in sedendo precedant. Et singulis diebus legatur aliqua lectio edificatoria per clericum ad minus in principio et in fine prandii. Et sileant fratres dum legitur in mensâ, nisi causâ legitimâ existente, et tunc submissâ voce. Nullo modo sint verbosi, clamosi, nec aliquâ de causâ simul disputantes, nec aliquis familiaribus vel extraneis de ferculis vel commessationibus coram eisdem appositis mittat, cum sit in diminucione reliquiarum caritatis intuitu pauperibus erogandarum. Nec convocaciones aliquorum aut alicuius nisi ex precepto Archipresbyteri vel eius vices gerentis faciant. Simulque dormiant in communi dormitorio, nisi cum infirmitate vel alias legitime fuerint excusati, excepto presidente. Proviso tamen quod sint excusati, in locis honestis jaceant, non suspectis. Silentium in eodem dormitorio prout possibile sint observantes. In Oratorio predicto sint Deo devoti et ejus servicio diligenter intendentes, usum Sarum, ordinale, consuetudinariumque sequentes in his que presentibus non fuerint immutata. Ordinamus insuper quod presbyteri dicte domûs in yeme[a] paulisper ante diem surgant ut missa beate Virginis celebretur die apparente. In estate autem surgant sole oriente, pulsacione quadam factâ et continuatâ per spacium unius leuce[b], ita quod presbyteri surgere valeant et cum maturitate debitâ se parare. Ipsis in oratorio ingressis, matutinas beate Marie Virginis submissâ voce apte et distincte simul dicant, et postea matutinam de die cum notâ: ita quod neutra pars chori versum prius incipiat nisi prius versus alterius chori totaliter terminetur, et pausacionem quandam in residio cuiuslibet versus paulisper

[a] hyeme. [b] Usually a "league," but here a division of time.

faciant, et omnes utriusque chori simul versum incipiant, simul pausacionem, et simul versum suum terminare non omittant. Post primam matutinarum diei celebrent missam beate Virginis cum notâ et solempnitate decenti secundum usum ecclesie Sarum, et consuetudinem. Quâ celebratâ, incipiant Horas de die et terminent omnes exceptis duplicibus festis et diebus Dominicalibus, in quibus ultimam Horam expectent usque post missam predictam. Quibus dictis, incipiant Horas beate Virginis et terminent omnes. Postea statim celebretur missa de Trinitate et sacerdos de Trinitate parabit se iterum dum Hora beate Marie dicitur. Et elevacione factâ eiusdem misse paret se sacerdos qui celebrabit pro defunctis, et sic deinceps, si plures sint celebrandi sacerdotes. Quibus completis ut premittitur, circiter Horam nonam incipiant magnam missam cum notâ que solempnitas diei exigerit. Volumus eciam quod presbyteri singuli in fine misse specialiter dicant collectam de Trinitate, dicantque eciam aliam specialem collectam pro Episcopo Wynton. que sic incipit 'Rege, domine, famulum,' dicantque eciam Collectam 'Deus, qui caritatis,' dicantque eciam specialem Collectam pro animabus fundatorum domûs, scilicet Thome et Johannis, et eorum parentum et benefactorum, et collectam specialem que sic incipit 'Deus, cujus.' Dicant eciam specialem collectam pro episcopis Wynton. defunctis, que sic incipit 'Deus, qui inter apostolicos sacerdotes.' Dicant eciam collectam pro defunctis, qui ad sustentacionem Oratorii de bonis suis, possessionibus, terris ac tenementis nomine legati vel alio quocunque nomine contulerunt, que sic incipit 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, unica salus mortalium.' Dicant eciam aliam collectam generalem quamcunque voluerint. Hunc ordinem in omnibus missis celebrandis observari volumus, preterquam in magnâ missâ, cum festivitas non patitur recitari. Et ante horam vesperarum pulsacione factâ conveniant fratres in oratorio, submissâ voce apte et distincte dicant 'Placebo' et 'Dirige.' Cum autem corpus presens fuerit vel dies anniversarii contigerit, vel servicium triginta dierum, tunc 'Placebo' et 'Dirige' cum notâ et novem lectionibus celebretur. Quibus factis, incipiant vesperas beate Virginis submissâ voce apte et distincte, deinde vesperas de die cum notâ, dicantque autem completorium de die cum notâ. Quo facto, dicant completorium beate Marie submissâ voce. Volumus eciam quod archipresbyter ordinet precentorem ad cuius solicitudinem et mandatum in oratorio dicto sint pagenda in missis celebrandis, quisquam missam in suâ septimanâ celebrare debeat, in lectionibus legendis, et ceteris aliis : qui precentor habeat tabulam in oratorio super appensam, in qua scribat die Sabbati post prandium et ordinet quales missas quis eorum celebrare debeat, quis qualem lectionem in crastinum legere debeat. Sic de ceteris officiis in oratorio fiendis ; et sic cotidie post

predictum officium idem precentor de dicto servicio subsequetur. Et omnes in predicto oratorio devenientes predictam tabulam adeant et officium sibi assignatum inspiciant ut premittitur, et repetant, ut in servicio postea pagendo Deo inveniantur fideles, humiles et devoti. Volumus eciam quod archipresbyter negocia domûs totaliter ordinet et personaliter unâ cum consilio ceterorum dicte domûs tam de exterioribus quam de interioribus; et quod habeat unum de confratribus suis in auxilium, qui possit negotia domûs gerere et in fine anni de statu domûs tam de receptis quam de expensis socios suos certificare. Et si archipresbyter negligens in premissis seu dilapidator bonorum inventus fuerit, episcopo aut eius vices gerenti in suâ visitatione, vel ante, si necesse fuerit, demonstretur. Ita quod nullus voluntate propriâ ad predictum episcopum vel eius vices gerentem accedat occasione premissâ, nisi consensus omnium fratrum vel majoris partis intercedat. Et ut presentes disposiciones, statuta et ordinationes perpetue firmitatis robur optineant presentibus sigilla nostra sunt appensa. His testibus: Domino Henrico Trenchard, Thoma de la Haule, Roberto de Clamorgen, Ricardo de Haston, Thoma de Cruce, Jordano de Kyngeston, militibus: Willelmo de Godyton,[a] Johanne Flemyng, Ricardo Noreys, Thoma Clavys, Odone de Compton, et multis aliis. Dat. apud Burton crastino Omnium Sanctorum Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto."

I follow Sir Richard Worsley's summary of the statutes:

Six chaplains and a clerk are to pray for the living and the dead under the rule of St. Augustine.

The bishop of Winchester is the patron of the oratory. One of the chaplains is to be presented to him for institution as archpriest, and the rest are to vow obedience to him.

The chaplains are to choose the archpriest and present him to the bishop within twenty days after a vacancy. In case of lapse the bishop is to nominate.

The archpriest and chaplain are to be under the immediate control of the bishop, and the servants of the house under the archdeacon of the island.

A year of probation after entrance. Goods in common and the effects of any chaplain dying to go to the oratory.

One dish only with a pittance at each meal, and a third dish on greater festivals.

[a] Godyton was a manor in the parish of Chale. Walter de Godyton in 1323 built a chapel on Chale Down and endowed a chantry priest to sing mass and burn lights for the guidance of mariners. St. Catherine's Tower, the well-known sea-mark, stands on the site of this chapel.

The chaplains are to be diligent in reading and praying; not to go beyond the bounds of the oratory without leave from the archpriest or his vicegerent; to wear surplices with black copes indoors, and habits of one colour, either black or "burnet" (rusty black), with a frieze coat and hat[a] out of doors.

The archpriest is to sit at the head of the table; next him the chaplain who had celebrated high mass that morning, then the chaplains, who had respectively celebrated the masses of the Virgin, the Holy Trinity, and Requiem that morning, in order.

The chaplains are to sleep in one dormitory and use a special form of prayer for benefactors, following in all ceremonies the use of Sarum.

The archpriest is to manage the temporal affairs of the oratory.

One of the chaplains is to be precentor and to arrange the details of the various offices.

Thirteen poor brethren are to have their food daily, the income from Crudmoor Farm in the parish of Carisbrooke being devoted to that purpose.

The endowment consisted of lands and tenements in the parish of Whippingham, in which Barton is situate; in the town of Newport, and elsewhere in the island; and there was a little house property in Southampton. Nearly all the evidences of title exist in our muniment room at Winchester, and much of the property can be identified at the present day.

Thomas de Wynton gave:

* Land at Arreton, bought of William Tholomer, who inherited it from his brother Walter, who died rector of Arreton.

* A "selda" or stall near the "sea" or tidal river at Newport, a name preserved in "Sea Street" there.

* Lands in Whippingham, bought of Dame Maud Escures, John de Bosco, John Michel, and Richard Saneter.

* Land in Spanne (now Span Farm) bought cum 'hominibus et sequelis eorum' (with the serfs inhabiting it) of Robert Rypers.

Land in West Appledurford (Appleford) bought of Sir William Tracy.

* Land in Curne (Kerne Farm in Brading parish) bought of Sir Thomas de la Haull, who was one of the attesting witnesses to the charter of foundation.

[a] Quilibet eorum utatur pallio Hibernensi de nigro burneto cum pileo.

* These properties can be identified.

* Land bought of William Dolcoppe.

Land in La Snape bought of Simon Everard and Geoffery Pycot.

* Land in Rokele (Rookley) bought of Richard de Rokele.

* Land and feeding rights at Walpan in Chale parish and on St. Catherine's Down, bought of Adam de Barneuile and Henry Meret.

* A water corn mill and croft at Honihull (Hunny Hill) outside the town of Newport (now Home Mill), bought of Hugo de Waltham.

* Another water corn mill there (now Westminster Mill), bought of William Delamare.

Land in Botremere bought of Henry Goge.

Land called "Hemere" abutting on Wynslade, a culture extending westwards to the ditch of Hemere, a wood called "Okestubbe," and a pasture called "Quelles," bought of John de l'Isle, all in Whippingham parish.

A long building (longa domus) on the shore at Southampton.

John de l'Isle's deed of grant is in the following words:

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes de Insulâ, clericus, filius Walteri de Insulâ senioris, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, pro anime mee, parentum, parochianorum et benefactorum nostrorum animarum salute, dedi, concessi, assignavi et hac meâ chartâ confirmavi Deo et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis et Oratorio sancte et individue Trinitatis in messuagio meo de Burton sito in parochia de Wyppyngham et domino Jordano de Marisco dicti Oratorii archipresbytero et quinque capellanis suis et eorum successoribus, in dicto Oratorio divina pro vivis et defunctis celebrantibus et Deo ibidem servituris in puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam totum meum domum messuagium de Burton cum gardinis et totam terram illam de Burton spectantem ad predictum messuagium, que emi de domino Willelmo Clamorgan: et totam terram quam emi de Willelmo Tanton de feodo predicti Willelmi Clamorgan: et totam terram quam emi de Roberto Albo de eodem feodo: et totam terram quam emi de Roberto Tollard de eodem feodo: et totam terram quam emi de Johanne Michel de eodem feodo: et totam terram quam emi de Philippo filio Henrici de Insulâ de feodo Ricardi le Noreys: et quandam particulam terre in Hemere quam emi de Johanne filio Henrici de Bosco et novem denarios annui redditus emptos ex eodem Johanne in Shofflut: et unum messuagium cum tribus acris terre emptis de Galfrido de la Brome in Bellestret: et unam dimidiam acram terre quam emi de Willelmo Hede in villâ Shofflut: et unam dimidiam acram terre quam emi de Thomâ Comminges in

* These properties can be identified.

Shofflut: et unam estichiam,[a] cum una domo desuper constructâ empta de Johanne Sweyn in Shofflut et tres denarios annui redditûs quos emi de Roberto de Letye: et sex denarios annui redditûs quos emi de Waltero Gode: et similiter totam terram cum bosco surgente, redditu, et omnibus pertinenciis in La Fayrleye que emi de Thoma de Gatcumbe: et unum messuagium et totam terram illam cum pasturâ et morâ et aliis pertinenciis suis in villa de Byllyngham que quidem habui de dono Americi de Veynes: et septem acras terre cum pertinenciis suis in Wyppyngham que fuerunt Petri Gessich: et unam acram terre et dimid. cum pertinenciis suis in Wyppyngham que fuerunt Hugonis de Chekehelle: et unam perticam terre cum pertinenciis suis in Wyppyngham que habui ex donacione et concessione Henrici de Belebrygg: et unum denarium annui redditûs in Wyppyngham de tenemento Johannis Ancy: et unum messuagium, cum unâ croftâ et duabus acris terre in Wyppyngham, que fuerent Philippi le Waleys: et duas acras terre in Wyppyngham que fuerunt Johannis Wyngod: Habendum etc. His testibus: Henrico Trenchard: Jordano de Kyngeston, militibus: Johanne de Insulâ: Johanne de Wulverton:[b] Waltero Gessich: Johanne le Flemyng, et multis aliis."

The seal is circular, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, and probably from his signet ring. It is of red wax, imbedded in brown or olive-green wax, and bears for device the Holy Lamb, in allusion to de l'Isle's name of John.

Neither deed has any date, but I assign them to the year 1275, when the statutes of the oratory were made.

The charter of Isabella de Fortibus, countess of Albemarle and Devon, confirming as lady paramount of the island John de l'Isle's endowment, is in

[a] A stitch or strip of land, called locally a "Butt" at the present day.

[b] The manor of Woolverton in Shorwell parish was formerly held by a family of the same name, who also held lands at Wolverton, near Kingsclere, in Hampshire, now belonging to the Duke of Wellington.

The first archpriest was Jordan de Marisco. He had been Vicar of Godshill under Thomas de Wynton. His successors, as far as I have been able to discover, are:

Simon	temp. Edward II.
Nicholas	occurs in 13 Edward III.
Richard	occurs in 21 Edward III.
Roger	occurs in 23 Edward III.
Robert Somborne	occurs between 40 Edward III. and 7 Richard II.
William Love	occurs between 15 Richard II. and 11 Henry IV.
John Godewyne	occurs in 5 Henry V.
John Bradshawe	occurs in 2 Henry VI.
Walter Trengof	the last archpriest, probably succeeded Bradshawe.

excellent preservation, and so is the seal, though the impression is not a first-rate one. The seal is circular, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, and of dark brown wax. Device: a shield of de Fortibus, *gules, a cross patonce vair*, dimidiating de Redvers, *or, a lion rampant azure*, held by the strap by an eagle displayed, whose head and wings appear just above the shield. On either side is a wyvern, a badge of de Redvers. Legend:

+ NON : CARET : EFFECTV : QVOD VOLVERE : DVO.

Two examples of the privy seal of the oratory have been preserved, appended to leases of Walpan in 23 Edward III. and of Heathfield in 6 Henry V. It is unusual to find leases in the possession of the lessors. These leases were doubtless given up when new ones were granted. The seal is oval, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long, and bears a figure of the archpriest kneeling before Our Lady and Child, with a scroll lettered backwards: AVE MARIA. The Legend is:

+ M[ATER] UIRGO DEI TV MISERER MEI

An impression of the common seal of the oratory is also preserved. It is the only one known to me, and is in admirable preservation. It is a pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, bearing for device a seated figure of the Deity, the left hand holding the orb and cross, which rests on the left knee, the right hand raised in blessing. Under the feet is a large star. Legend:

* S' D[OM]VS SCE TRINITATIS DE BARTONE.

This seal is appended to a deed of exchange relating to lands in the parish of Whippingham, *temp.* archpriest Simon.

The oratory had its attractions for the people, and received many benefactions. I mention one, Paddemore (Padmoor, in the parish of Whippingham) for the sake of exhibiting a better impression of the privy seal of the oratory. It is appended to a licence granted by Bartholomew de l'Isle, lord of the manor of Woditon (Wootton) to William de la Forde, in 13 Edward III. to alienate Padmoor to the oratory.

I may mention here a point of interest for its bearing on the question of the origin of manors. The Oratorians made a manor of their property, calling it the manor of Barton. The house and its precincts became the demesne, the larger holdings were let on lease for terms of years, and the smaller were demised for lives by copy of court roll. This process of consolidation went on after the passing of the statute of *Quia Emptores* (18 Edward I. c. i.), in 1290, which pro-

hibited the practice of subinfeudation. It is an axiom of our law books that every manor must necessarily be of a date prior to the statute of *Quia Emptores*, except perhaps some which may have been created by those who held of the king in *capite* with license from the Crown, so long as the statute did not extend to them.[a] The explanation may be found in the fact that these copyholds for lives were without right of renewal, and consequently were no better than leases for lives, except in one respect; that being created by copy of court roll the copyholder enjoyed the best possible register of title in the court rolls of the manor.

I may quote from the history of Winchester college an instance of the creation of a lifehold manor at a much later period. The warden and fellows having in and after the year 1399 acquired a quantity of lands in the parishes of Ropley, Medstead, Bishop's Sutton, Bighton, Wield, Itchenstoke, and Winnall, in Hampshire, partly by benefaction, partly by purchase, and partly by lease from the bishop of Winchester for a term of one hundred years, consolidated them all, freehold and leasehold, into one manor, calling it the Manor of Ropley, and granting it out in parcels for three lives by copy of court roll, with a heriot payable on alienation as well as on death. This inclusion of leaseholds with freeholds in a manor under the same customs is remarkable, and only to be explained on the theory that these copyholds for lives are really nothing more than leases for lives.

In 1392 the buildings were out of repair; and William Love, the archpriest, under pressure of the diocesan, engaged a tiler and mason, by name Richard Lathbury, to effect the necessary repairs. A formal contract was drawn up for the performance of the work, of which the following is the text:

"[b]In dei nomine amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter quod anno ab Incarnacione domini secundum cursum et computacionem ecclesie Anglicane millesimo tricentesimo nonagesimo secundo Indiccione prima pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Bonifacij divina providencia pape noni anno primo mensis Marcij die sexta In Oratorio sancte Trinitatis de Berton in Insula Vecta situato. In mei notarij publici et testium subscriptorum presencia constitutus personaliter discretus vir Ricardus Latthebury tegulator et latomus in Insula Vecta predicta sua mera et spontanea voluntate obligavit se venerabili viro domino Willelmo Love archipresbitero dicti Oratorij sancte Trinitatis de Berton predicti de fideliter serviendo

[a] Wright's *Tenures*, 162; Watkins on Copyholds, 15.

[b] Written within the initial I is: "℄ In ore duorum vel trium testium stet omne verbum."

eidem archipresbitero et successoribus suis in eodem oratorio videlicet quod Ricardus repparabit omnes domos ad dictum Oratorium pervientes Et quicquid serverit, idem Ricardus de aliqua arte manuali ad commodum dicti archipresbiteri exercebit sumptibus et expensis eiusdem archipresbiteri et cum necesse fuerit et dicto archipresbitero videatur necessarium. Idem archipresbiter ordinabit eidem Ricardo unum servientem qui tegulas et alia sibi necessaria ad cooperturas domorum ministrabit. Et dictus Ricardus Latthebury percipiet annuatim ab eodem archipresbitero victum et necessaria cum uno epitogio et decem solidis sterlingorum ac pasturam pro uno equo habebit. Et si contingat dictum Ricardum vacuum vel occupatum esse adeo quod idem archipresbiter non habeat per quod possit ipsum occupare nec eidem archipresbitero proficere tunc liceat dicto Ricardo artem suam manualem predictam alibi exercere quousque dictus archipresbiter ipsum voluerit ad suum servicium revocare. Que omnia et singula fideliter observanda et perficienda prefatus Ricardus Lattebury iuramento corporali per ipsum ad sancta dei evangegelia (*sic*) prestito vallabat. Tunc ibidem Acta sunt hec prout suprascribuntur et recitantur sub anno die Indiccionis Pontificatus mense die et loco prefatis. Presentibus discretis viris Henrico Mody et Johanne Scot clericis Wyntoniensis diocesis testibus ad premissa.

Et ego Edmundus Alderford clericus Norwicensis diocesis publicus auctoritate apostolica Notarius premissis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut permittitur agebantur et fiebant una cum prenominatis testibus personaliter interfui ea que sic fieri vidi et audivi aliundo que multipliciter occupatus per alium sibi feci publicavi et in hanc publicam formam redegi hic me subscribendo et Signum meum[a] solitum et consuetum hic apponendo rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium premissorum.

Et in maiorem evidenciam veritatis ac fidem et testimonium omnium premissorum Nos Officialis Exempte Jurisdiccionis de Cliva sede apostolice nullo medio pertinentes ad specialem requisicionem supradicti domini Willelmi Lowe archipresbiteri Oratorij sancte Trinitatis de Burton predicti sigillum Officij nostri presentibus apposuimus. Dat' quo ad sigilli nostri[b] apposicionem decimo Kalend' ffebruarij anno domini secundum cursum et computacionem ecclesie anglicane Millesimo cccc Tercio."

That is to say, that Lathbury was to keep the buildings in order, the arch-

[a] This mark consists of a double triangle, the lower point resting on steps inscribed with the notary's name, the upper point ending in a double barred cross. In the centre is a crescent enclosing three ermine spots.

[b] The seal is lost and only the strings of suspension remain.

priest providing materials and a labourer, and allowing Lathbury his victuals and 10*s*. a-year and keep for a horse. And Lathbury was to be at liberty to take a job elsewhere when the archpriest had no work for him to do.

I never saw a more solemn contract than this. Lathbury was sworn on the Holy Gospels, in the presence of a notary, to observe it, and the bond was drawn tighter still by the attestation of the official of the exempt jurisdiction of King's Cliff (Clive) in Northamptonshire, or Cliffe at Hoo, Kent, whom the archpriest called on to attest it.

The history of the oratory is now drawing to a close. At the suggestion, according to tradition, of Wayneflete, who had been master of Winchester school and was provost of Eton at the time, Warden Thurbern presented a petition to cardinal Beaufort, praying that the oratory might be appropriated to the college, on the ground that the income of the college was insufficient, and had been impaired of late by a fire among their house property at Andover. The petition is in the English of the period:

"To my Right gracious lord my lord the Cardinal of England.

"Besecheth mekely yowre poevere and humble Chapellain the Wardein of youre newe College of Winchestre in name of hym self and of the Remenant of youre poevere Chapellains and scoliers of the same. That Where as youre moost worshipful faderhood considering here afore the exilitie of þaire dotacon the falling and dekay of lyflode by empeyring of the World which euery Day is in Wers caas thenne othre appred[a] unto hem of youre greet goodnesse the Chirche of Andeuers, Which hath bee to hem greet Refresshing, god þanke yow in heuen. Now is hit soo that the same chirche that hath be to hem soo prouffitable afore þis tyme, is att þis Day of noo value for fortune of fyr that late hath happed þere. Soo þat þay cannat Wite how to bringe the World aboute[b] for to maintiegne thastat of youre said college Withoute youre gracyoux help and socour | Whom god hath ordenned to Reliene many a man | for yif the nede that youre saide college hadde for to be encressed of lyfloode for the sustentacon of soo many parsones as bee nourrisshed and brought up thereyn to the worship and service of god wiþ his grace and mercy was greet atte tyme of the saide appriacon the necessite is now miche more as youre high prudence by þat is a bouesaid may wel considere Hit like yow þerfore of youre habundant grace in sustentacon of youre sayd college to grante hem the app'acon of the archpreestshipp of Barton in the Ile of Wyght which youre Clerk maist^r Wault^r Trengof occupieth. To which app'acon sco hit bee plesyng untoo youre good grace, the same maist^r Wault^r wol

[a] *i.e.* appropriated.

[b] *i.e.* to make both ends meet.

assente. And youre lordship shal hereyn doo a deede of charite and deserve greet thank of god. Hit mighte like also youre noble grace the rath[r] encline and condescende to the doyng herof seyng þat þe said Barton þough hit bee a spũel þyng hit is nought actuelly charged with cure of souls."

The cardinal consented, and the return to the writ *ad quod damnum* (17 Henry VI.) was favourable. The costs of the inquisition are struck through with a pen in the computus roll of the year, showing that a friend of the college, perhaps Wayneflete, or the cardinal himself, bore them. Trengof, who had just been made archdeacon of Cornwall, wanted to get back to his native county, and was a willing party. I suspect that in the opinion of everybody the oratory had lasted long enough, or it would not have fallen so easily. No charge of vice or corruption is breathed against the Oratorians, like the charges which were so freely put forward against many religious houses at the time of the dissolution. They may have been extravagant, if the fact may be inferred from the circumstance of their pawning one of their psalters,[a] which the college redeemed in 1439. The poverty of the college as a seat of learning is the only justification for the suppression of the oratory. And that the college was very poor at this period is certain. They maintained the full number of fellows and scholars, but were unable to pay their fellows' stipends in full, and when warden Thurbern died in 1450, there was over 200*l.* owing to him for more than ten years' stipend; and it was never paid.

The royal licence to Trengof to alienate, and to the warden and scholars of "Seynt Marie College of Wynchester near Wynton" (their corporate title) to acquire and hold in mortmain the possession of the oratory, is dated March 27, 17 Henry VI. (1439). The seal is perfect.

We have also amongst our deeds a licence by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, earl of Pembroke, and lord of the Isle of Wight, to the like effect. It is dated at Caversham, near Reading, February 3, 18 Henry VI. A nearly perfect and fine impression of the duke's seal in red wax is appended. It is circular, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and bears the duke's shield of arms, *France modern and England quarterly, within a bordure argent*, with helm and crest, *a lion statant crowned or, collared argent*, and supporters, two antelopes gorged with coronets. Legend:

* S'. humfridi filij fr̄is ⁊ auunculi regū ducis gloucestrie ⁊ comitis pembrochie magniq; camerarii anglie ⁊c.[b]

[a] Computus Roll, 1439, "Solut. Margerie Oryngham xx[s] pro redemptione psalterii glosati cum glosâ eius pertinentis quondam ad manerium de Barton et eidem Margerie impignorati."

[b] He was son of Henry IV., brother of Henry V., uncle of Henry VI., created duke of Gloucester and earl of Pembroke in 1414, and appointed great chamberlain in 1413.

There is also a grant by Trengof to the college of the manor of Barton, alias Berton, and five messuages and three gardens in the town of Southampton. It is dated February 3, 18 Henry VI.

Also Trengof's proxy to deliver seisin, of even date, and a duplicate dated February 14, 18 Henry VI. of a grant by the warden and fellows to Trengof of a pension of 20*l.* per annum for twenty-four years, if he should so long live, charged upon the college manor of Durrington, in Wiltshire. The last three instruments have appended to them excellent examples, all in red wax, of Trengof's official seal as archdeacon of Cornwall. It is a pointed oval, 2 inches long, bearing under three rich canopies St. Michael with the scales, between an angel blowing a trumpet and another angel with a palm branch. Under the figure is a band inscribed: gradi ſt ad qd ſum. Below, set in masonry, is a shield of Trengof's arms, *three castles*. Legend:

Sigillu walteri trengof archidiaconi cornubie.

There is also a charter by cardinal Beaufort, confirming the transaction between Trengof and the college upon condition that the warden and fellows should maintain a stipendiary chaplain in the chapel at Barton, and pay 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum to the convent of St. Swithun "pro indempnitate ecclesie sue propter appropriationem archipresbyterii," as an indemnity to the convent for assenting to the alienation of the oratory. They were also to deliver 1 lb. of wax annually to the warden of St. Mary's altar in the cathedral church, and celebrate Trengof's obit in consideration of his surrendering the oratory "in augmentationem studii scolastici in dicto nostro collegio."

The cardinal's seal is perfect. It is a pointed oval, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, of red wax imbedded in dark wax with an outer case of wood, and suspended by crimson silk cords. Device: St. Peter between St. Paul and St. Swithun under canopies, with a supercanopy with St. Etheldreda (?) and St. Katherine. In base under an arch is a three-quarter length figure of the bishop between two shields of the arms of Beaufort, the dexter one being differenced with a mitre in the middle of the bordure. Legend:

: s' : henrici : dei : gra | . Wyntonienſis : epi.

The chaplain's stipend of 6*l.* per annum, a handsome one, continued to be paid until the first year of Edward VI., when the well-known Act was passed

abolishing chantries, and from that period the college held the manor of Barton and the Southampton property free of this incumbrance. I exhibit an exemplification of the discharge of the college from the chaplain's stipend under statute 1 Edward VI., c. 14, for the sake of queen Elizabeth's likeness in the title of the deed, and a splendid impression of the seal of the Court of Exchequer; the date is October 16, 2 Elizabeth. The seal is circular, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and two-sided.

The obverse has the queen sitting on a chair of state, set upon a carpet lozengy with roses and fleurs-de-lis. Behind is a larger diaper of the same pattern, and in base the initials E R. Legend, with roses for stops:

+ ELIZABETH * D' * GRA' * ANGLIE * FRANCIE * ET * HIB'NIE * R *
FIDEI * DEFENSOR.

The reverse has, on a rabbit warren, two stags, one gorged with a collar, the other with a crown, and chained, supporting a large crowned shield of the royal arms. The field is diapered with a lattice enclosing roses and fleurs-de-lis. Legend, with roses for stops:

[+ SIGILLVM * SCACARII * DOMINE * REGINE * ANNO * D[I] * M. D. LIX.

There are numbers of receipts by successive wardens of the altar of St. Mary, in the cathedral church of Winchester, between the years 1441–58, for the pound of wax which they were entitled to receive under cardinal Beaufort's arrangement. Some of these seals are interesting.

We have also an inspeximus or confirmation of the cardinal's license by the prior and convent of St. Swithun at Winchester, with an almost perfect impression of the conventual seal.

This completes the series of documents which illustrate this paper.

The gratitude of the college to cardinal Beaufort for this handsome augmentation showed itself in a variety of ways. In the computus of 19 and 20 Henry VI. occurs a present of capons and partridges to him on his birthday:

"In x caponibus presentatis Domino Cardinali erga suam natalem cum iiij.[s] Solutis. pro xviij. perdicibus, et expensis Ricardi Baret (the warden's valet) et aliorum laborantium in acquisitione eorundem xj[s]. x[d]."

It appears from the computus of 1443–4 that warden Thurbern went to Eton

in that year to see provost Wayneflete about Trengof's pension, which the warden and fellows wanted to get off paying; but Trengof, I am glad to say, drew his pension regularly until his death, which happened February 27th, 1445-6. This fact, and that his nephew John Welyngton was his executor, appears from a certificate under the seal of the officiary of the diocese.

I have transcribed a rental of the manor for a half year (date not given) shortly after the transfer to the college:

Barton pro dimidio anno.

Pro firmario de Barton pro firmâ ibidem	iiij^{l} vj^{s} viij^{d}
Pro Johanne Facy pro terr. et tenement. in Whippingham .	vj^{s} ij^{d}
Pro Radulfo Forester pro terr. in Whippingham . . .	xvij^{s} ij^{d}
Pro Ricardo Facy pro terr. et tenement. in Whippingham . .	iiij^{s} iiij^{d} iij^{q}
Pro Johanne Flemyng et Radulfo Lovyng pro terr. in Whippingham .	xxj^{s} viij^{d}
Pro Ludovico Hervy	xij^{d}
Pro Thomâ Gladehouse pro terr. in Walpan	xl^{s}
Pro eodem Thomâ pro terr. vocat. "Seynt Kateryns" . .	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Pro Thomâ Snoddon pro terr. in Crudmore	xx^{s}
Pro Georgio tenente de Spanne pro terr. in Spanne . .	xxx^{s}
Pro Roberto Spanner pro terr. in Rocley	ij^{s} ij^{d}
Pro Ricardo Sheperd pro terr. in Kern.	iiij^{d}
Pro Galfrido Carter pro terr. in Northsendham . . .	xx^{s}
Pro Thomâ Gylbert pro terr. in Witcombe	xx^{d}
Pro Willelmo Samburgh pro terr. in Arreton . . .	iiij^{s}
Pro Roberto Gylys pro molendino fullonico et terr . . .	xiiij^{s} ij^{d}
Pro Nicholao Shepherd pro molendino aquatico . . .	xx^{s}
Pro Flete pro ij tenementis in Newport nuper iij^{s} tenementa Edwardi Grant	ij^{s}
Pro Johanne Flemyng pro terr. et tenement. in Newport . .	ij^{s} vj^{d}
Pro pro tenement. et gardin. in Newport . . .	iij^{s} viij^{d}
Pro Ricardo Kyng pro tenement. in Newport . . .	ij^{s}
Pro Thomâ Orchard pro terr.	xx^{d}
Summa . .	xv^{l} vij^{s} x^{d} iij^{q}

In 12 Henry VIII. (1521) the manor farm was valued at 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

In a survey made for the college in the year 1776, the manor farm is said to contain 521 acres, and to be worth 302*l.* per annum.

The manor is stated in the same survey to extend over 1408 acres, and to be of the annual value of 1089*l.*

His Royal Highness the late Prince Consort purchased, in the year 1853, the demesne of Barton, with its beautiful woods facing Spithead, under the provisions of a private Act of Parliament, and was admitted tenant of some of the copyholds, which he enfranchised; and these lands now form part of Her Majesty's Osborne estate.

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